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THE
QUARTERLY

OF THE



VOLUME XVII

MARCH, 1916—DECEMBER, 1916

Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

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THE INDIAN OF THE NORTHWEST AS REVEALED BY THE EARLIEST JOURNALS.*

O. B. SPERLIN, Tacoma, Washington.

When Alexander Mackenzie in 1789 was exploring the great river which bears his name, he asked everywhere for information concerning the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. He was told¹ that natives on the river to the southwest which falls into the Belhoullay Teo or White Man's Lake were of gigantic stature, very wicked, and adorned with wings; that they fed on gigantic birds; and that they possessed the extraordinary power of killing common men with a look of the eye. These native reports of native contemporaries, even to the

*This paper was read before the Annual Meeting of the Members of the Oregon Historical Society, December 18, 1915.

For this study I have found my greatest and most valuable storehouse in the Provincial Library at Victoria, British Columbia. Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, Provincial Librarian, has done more to unearth needed material than I had imagined could be accomplished. His extensive knowledge of Northwest history has guided me, his kindness and helpfulness have more than encouraged me. I wish to express my deep appreciation of the Provincial Library and my sincerest thanks to Mr. Scholefield. Mr. Charles W. Smith, of the Reference Department of the University of Washington Library, has also been a genuine help to me on numerous occasions. In the earlier stages of the investigation I drew heavily upon the Northwest collections of the Tacoma Public Library, the Seattle Public Library, and the Washington State Historical Society. For the Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association I am indebted to Mr. George H. Himes, Curator of the Oregon Historical Society. To Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, I am very grateful for being permitted to examine the proof-sheets of Thompson's autobiography, in process of publication by the Champlain Society of Toronto.

¹ Voyages: Vol. I., Ch. VI.

linking of "wings" with "very wicked," we now know to be fiction; but fiction no more misleading than when we let our concepts of "siwash," "buck," and "squaw" represent the original inhabitants of the Northwest. Other fiction more insidious has passed in the guise of truth for the last century—more insidious because it has passed under the name of "historical" fiction; it has even been labeled, and has thereby libeled, history.

"How would our history read, how would the story of the advance of white men into our country differ, if it had been written by Indians instead of by New England Puritans?" dramatically inquired an Indian neighbor² of ours at the organization of the Northwestern Federation of American Indians. Historians have been prone to estimate the Indian by what he became after commerce had brought degradation and while government was bringing slaughter. The study of the native in his native life and character has been notably inadequate. To some, indeed, information for such study has seemed utterly inaccessible; for Indians have left no monuments to perpetuate their history, no names ever to associate with their deeds. By the inexorable force of their sacred custom, when the hero died his name grew silent forever upon the lips of men; name and deed alike were lost in oblivion. Is so little known of the Indian before the white man came that we must depend upon fiction for our reconstruction of that era? Or is there a body of historical records still available but scarcely known through which we may forego fiction and get a glimpse of reality?

The purpose of the present study is to examine every known record of first contact between Indians of the Northwest and explorers and traders, in order to see what light, though ever so checkered, these original journals throw upon the character of the native races; and to investigate in particular the Indian's hospitality, religion, probity, government, industry, and home, or his lack of these, and to review therewith his known

² Henry Sicade: Tacoma, 1914.

vices. It has been the pleasure of the writer to examine the original journals, either as transcripts or in published form, which describe upwards of one hundred cases of first contact; and he is convinced that secondary authorities³ in at least nine other cases are worthy of consideration. These one hundred and more cases cover the seventy years just preceding the end of the first year of Astoria. The writer is aware that cases of first contact between whole tribes and white men are recorded as taking place even in his own state as late as 1852;⁴ but he is of the opinion that by 1812 indirect influences radiating from trading establishments and coasting vessels were sufficient (ever so little might be sufficient) to invalidate conclusions based thereon. These cases, chronologically arranged following 1741 and preserving the original tribe or band name in the comparatively few cases where the journalists used them, are as follows:

Chirikof among the Sitkas; Bering at Kayak Island and among the Aleuts; Glottof among the Koniagas; Perez among the Haidas and the Nootkas; Heceta and Quadra among the Allequas and the Quinaults; Heceta among the Clayoquots; Quadra among the Sitkas and the Kaicanies; Cook among the Nootkas, the Chugatches, and the Nuchusks; Arteaga and Quadra among the Ucalenzies; La Pérouse among the Hoonids; Barkley among the Pacheenas and the Quilliutes; Dixon among the Yakutats, Hippas, Cumshawas, Massets, and Ninstints; Portlock among a northern band of Sitkas or the southern Hoonids; Meares among the Tatooches, Willapas, and Tlaquatch; Douglas probably among the Sebassas; Duncan among the Skiddegats, Skedans, and Classets; Gray among the Nasomahs, Umpquahs, Killamooks, Makahs, and Custas; Quimper among the Sokes, Tsomas, and Clallams; Elisa among the Songhies; Gray among the Quatsinos and Skeenas; Narvaeth among the Sanech, Cowichens, Comux, and Nanaimos; Galiano and Valdez among the Namoose, Lummi, and Tacultas; Vancouver among the Hunas, Chimakum, Twanas, Saw-

³ See List of Authorities, Appendix.

⁴ Report Indian Affairs, 1857: pp. 327-9.

amish, Nisquallies, Chebaulups, Duwamish, Snohomish, Skagets, Kwantlums, Clahoose, Squamishts, Nimkish, Ucletas, Coquilts, Necultas, and Quackolls; Gray among the Chinooks; Broughton among the Skilloots; Whidbey among the Chehalis; Mackenzie among the Sicanies, Tacullies, upper Atnahs, Dinees, and Bella Coolas; Lewis and Clark among the Shoshones, Tushapaws, Chopunish, Yakimas, Pishquitpas, Claquellas, Echeloots, Multnomahs, and Walla Wallas; Fraser among the Natlahs, lower Atnahs, Chilkotins, Asketties, Hacamaughs, Neilgemughs, Achinrows, Swanemughs, Tahowtins, and Nasquatins; Andrew Henry among the Bannacks; Thompson among the Kootenays, Saleesh, Skeetshoo, Kullispel, Spokanes, Ilthkoyapes, Simpoils, Nespelems, Methows, Sinkowarsin, Skummooiin, and Palouse; Franchere among the Cowlitz; Ross among the Piscows, Chelans, Okanogans, and at Kamloops; Stuart among the Shushwaps; Hunt among the Bannacks and the Cayuse; and Harmon among the Babines.

How were these explorers and traders received, how entertained? We may recall at once the tragedies of Chirikof, Heceta, Captain Barkley, and Captain Gray; but do we then bear in mind that these are but four cases out of more than one hundred examined? As the immediate cause of the violence must forever remain unknown in three cases of the four, may it not be more profitable to examine first the cases of favorable reception, where there are manners and customs embodied which may help to explain the disasters which are now so dark?

First, in regard to the mere ceremony of receiving a stranger, concerning which Jefferson specifically directed⁵ Lewis and Clark to inquire: The "national hug" of the Shoshones; the discarding of moccasins and the outspreading of blankets; the chief's harangue with its vociferated "oys" of approval; the ceremonial pipe of peace held to the four points of the compass, to heaven, then to earth; the white robe thrown over the stranger's shoulders; the community singing and dancing; the

⁵ Original Journals: Vol. VII., p. 287.

making of presents; and among the Fraser River tribes the shaking of hands even to the extent of twelve hundred at a sitting—many of these are common to many journals. But on the coast, as pictured by the earliest visitors, the bonfires gleam through the mist; the canoes put out from shore; the natives sing in time to the beat of a paddle on the gunwale; some occupants, as the earliest observer, Fray Crespi⁶ quaintly puts it, “make movements like dancing”; the canoes make three turns about the stranger ship; the birds’ down flutters through the air like snow and floats upon the water; the chief, orating and shaking his rattle, invites the visitors to his own harbor, for the neighboring tribes are all “peshak” or bad; and the cry “Wocash! Wocash!” in token of friendship rings out, so Vancouver⁷ records, until the visitors are “almost stunned by their graduations.” Cook⁸ would call these Indians “Wakashians” from the word which was so frequently in their mouths. If visitors meet natives on shore first, the latter stretch out their arms to the sky to show that they have laid aside their weapons; or they display the white robe or a tuft of white feathers, or they cross their arms to the sky in token of friendship. In a few cases, as Bering⁹ among the Kayaks, Gray¹⁰ among the Nesomahs, and Hunt¹¹ among some bands of Bannacks, the natives fled and could not be induced to return.

Here is an unpublished account from the pen of John Hoskins,¹² one of Captain Gray’s journalists, which, though embodying none of these enumerated ceremonies, preserves and defines the spirit: “I was received at my landing by an old chief who conducted me with Mr. Smith to his house; seated us by a good fire; offered us to eat and drink of the best the house afforded; which was dried fish of various sorts, roasted clams and mussels. Water was our drink, handed in a wooden box, with a large sea clam shell to drink out of; the chief’s

6 Crespi: Diary.

7 Voyage: Vol. III., p. 307.

8 Voyage: II., p. 337.

9 Lauridsen: Vitus Bering.

10 Haswell: p. 33.

11 Irving’s *Astoria*.

12 Narrative: p. 37.

son attended me, opened my clams, roasted my fish and did various other kinds of offices in which he was pleased to engage. After this entertainment we were greeted with two songs, in which was frequently repeated the words, 'Wakush Tiye a winna' or 'Welcome, traveling chief.' Incidentally, while Hoskins and his fellow officer were thus entertained, his men, freed from the restraint of officers, managed to kick up a row, and the visitors from the *Columbia* fled into the teeth of a storm.

Indeed, when face to face with the "traveling chief," what wonder fills the native heart! "A very respectable old man sat down by me," writes Thompson,¹³ "thankful to see us and smoke of our tobacco before he died, he often felt my shoes and legs gently as if to know whether I was like themselves." The Carriers received Mackenzie¹⁴ with a mixture of astonishment and admiration. "Do not you white men know everything in the world?" queried an Atnah chief when asked about the geography of the Tacooche Tesse. The Tacullies offered to pay Harmon¹⁵ if he would bring fair weather when they were starting out on a journey. They thought that all who could read and write were supernatural beings. The Indians above the Falls of the Columbia thought Lewis and Clark came from the sky—"rained down out of the clouds," Whitehouse¹⁶ puts it. The natives of Whidbey Island¹⁷ showed inexpressible astonishment when they saw the white under Whidbey's clothes. At Point Gray they examined Vancouver with the greatest curiosity. Indians on the Parsnip who had never seen white men waited for nine years in the neighborhood of one spot after Finley had turned back from that point in 1797; their curiosity was gratified when Fraser¹⁸ came in 1806. The old Hacamaugh chief at the mouth of the Thompson River "often stretched out both hands through curiosity, in order to feel us," as Fraser¹⁹ records. In some cases, notably those

¹³ Oregon Hist. Quart.: Vol. XV., p. 54.

¹⁴ Voyages: Vol. II., p. 167.

¹⁵ Journal: p. 301.

¹⁶ Original Journals: Vol. VII., p. 183.

¹⁷ Vancouver, Voyage: Vol. II., p. 162.

¹⁸ First Journal.

¹⁹ Journal: p. 182.

recorded by Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, Fraser, and Ross,²⁰ the sick were brought to be healed and even the dead to be restored to life. The Cowlitz, according to Franchere,²¹ lifted up the legs of their visitors' trousers and opened their shirts with amazement. The Haidas, when Perez first visited them,²² placed their hands gently upon their visitors' breasts. The Spanish friars had on board an image of Our Lady; the Haidas touched it in greatest astonishment, to see whether it were alive. The astonishment at the sound of the rifles, at quicksilver, at the air gun, at the burning-glass, and even at Clark's negro servant York are well known. On the terrible rapids of the Fraser River,²³ a chief said that though Indians did not run the rapids, his confidence in the superiority of the whites was such that he would not hesitate to accompany them wherever they thought proper to venture. Many of the tribes on the Fraser²⁴ and the Columbia danced and sang all night when the white men first came.

The Indian's attitude at first was clearly that of admiration for superior beings, but not of worship of a supreme being. More valuable still, their attitude was uniformly and almost without exception friendly, until it had reason to be inimical. "Thank Heaven for the favors we find among this numerous people!" exclaims Thompson²⁵ with his usual fervent heart, after months of traveling among them. He had good reasons for that devout thanksgiving. "Frank," "communicative," "generous," "by no means beggarly," "friendly," "cheerful," "most hospitable," "good humored," and "sincere"—these are some of the epithets from Lewis and Clark, and these honest observers are not alone. "They vied with each other in acts of kindness," writes Ross; "very friendly," "communicative," "very kind," "very hospitable," "very peaceable," "generous," and "charitable." "Confident," "respectful," "foremost in showing marks of greatest hospitality," "courteous," "liberal,"

²⁰ *Adventures*: p. 133.

²¹ *Narrative*: p. 107.

²² *Crespi: Diary*.

²³ *Journal*: p. 163.

²⁴ *Journal*: p. 182.

²⁵ *Oregon Hist. Quart.*: Vol. XV., p. 199.

and "good humored" writes Vancouver; while "civil," "friendly," and "orderly" recur probably a hundred times in his journal. "We never observed anything contrary to the most perfect friendship and confidence which they repose in us," says Don Maurelle²⁶ of Heceta's landing at Trinidad Bay; "they were not only pleasant in intercourse but affectionate." Even concerning the Indians at the Quinault, where a detachment of Spaniards was cut off a few days later, the same journalist speaks of their great cordiality. "They seemed quite pleased at meeting us," says Fraser;²⁷ "happy to see us," "pleased in our company," "wished to be friendly to strangers," "they carried no arms, as testimony to our friendship." Of another tribe²⁸ he says, "Knowing our indiscretion, and dreading a like attempt [to run the rapids] they voluntarily transported our canoes overland to a little river beyond the rapids." Another tribe received him²⁹ and his men as if they had been long lost relatives. "One tribe," he³⁰ says, "did not expect us, but were so happy at our return that they lent us their canoes while they themselves went on foot to their villages." When Thompson was in desperate straits, due to the impassable condition of the torrential tributaries of the Kootenay, a chief, unable to get a volunteer to guide him, said that while he was alive the white man should not perish in the mountains for want of a guide and hunter. He went himself, and proved to be a noble, manly and humane guide.

In countless ways their actual treatment bore out these numerous and generous words of praise. Indians on Hood's Canal presented Vancouver³¹ with fish, roots, and other articles of food "in such a way as to convince us that they had much pleasure in so doing." On Bute's Channel, when his³² boats were in difficulty, they "voluntarily lent their aid to the utmost of their power, and were rewarded for their cordial disinter-

²⁶ Barrington: Miscellany: Don Antonio Maurelle.

²⁷ Journal: pp. 157ff.

²⁸ Journal: p. 187.

²⁹ Journal: p. 192.

³⁰ Journal: p. 210.

³¹ Voyage: Vol. II., p. 91.

³² P. 235.

ested assistance." Near Point Mudge they threw cooked salmon aboard his³³ ship as it passed by. At Cape Orford they made the usual presents, and did not have the least idea of accepting anything in return. But when he³⁴ gave them beads,

³⁴ Voyage: Vol. II., p. 24.

medals, etc., they stripped off and offered him their garments and offered these to him in return, and were astonished that they were to keep both the presents and their fur garments. When Lewis and Clark³⁵ were descending the Snake River, a band of Chopunish delayed their march to warn the travelers of the rapids and to pilot them through. David Thompson records presents of good roasted salmon, antelope meat, roots, moss bread, or berries, from nearly every tribe. He was usually invited or urged to remain. The Palouse forced a present of eight horses on him,³⁶ with a war garment. The chief insisted that they did not wish any return for the present of horses, but that they knew the nature of a present. Thompson paid them with bills good at trading posts; but the natives could not understand how a piece of paper could contain the price of a horse. Ross, journeying up the Columbia, records presents of horses and salmon, and invitations, usually urgent, to remain with the natives over night or permanently. The Tushapaws, according to Whitehouse,³⁷ and the Chopunish, according to Gass, made presents of food to Lewis and Clark, though the captains class the latter as stingy. The natives of Whidbey Island, according to Vancouver,³⁸ "parted with their newly

³⁸ Voyage: Vol. II., p. 286.

acquired friends with great reluctance." Broughton,³⁹ the first up the Columbia, speaks of warlike appearance, but commends orderly behavior, great civility, and utmost decorum. For the "Friendly Chief" among the Skilutes on the Columbia he named Friendly Reach and Parting Point. Broughton was supplied very liberally with salmon. At Gray's Harbor Whidbey⁴⁰ found the behavior of the Chehalis "uniformly civil,

³³ P. 269.

³⁵ Original Journals: Vol. III., p. 117.

³⁶ Ore. Hist. Quarterly: Vol. XV., p. 121.

³⁷ Original Journals: Vol. VII., p. 149.

³⁹ Vancouver's Voyage: Vol. III., p. 67.

⁴⁰ Vancouver's Voyage: Vol. III., p. 83.

courteous, and friendly." When his boat was stranded, as he tells us, they were very kindly, and by signs and other means afforded them such assistance as soon conducted them into deep water, when they took their leave and departed. Among the Haidas Vancouver had only to sign to the Indians that he was going to rest and the tribe retired to a distance. The Nootkas importuned Captain Cook⁴¹ to pay them another visit. The tribes of the Fraser were always desiring the explorer to discontinue and remain with them. He was given presents of roots, hazelnuts, skins, berries, excellent dried and fresh salmon, and sturgeon. Apprised of their approach, the chief came out to meet the visitors⁴² with roasted salmon. "They gave us 40 salmon," he records, "and sent young men along with us to carry them, saying, 'The Indians above are poor.' " Even these "poor" Indians generously shared⁴³ what they had. Indians assisted at the portages with their horses and carried part of the baggage themselves. He⁴⁴ pitched his tent by native camps and enjoyed entire peace and security. Indians had only to notice that his⁴⁵ men needed new pairs of moccasins, and a coat of mail was usually presented to him for the purpose. On his return journey, so he⁴⁶ writes, "They assisted us in passing our baggage over, which was of greatest service to us, the portage being long and the weather extremely hot." Perez⁴⁷ was invited by the Indians to land and was shown a good harbor. At the Fraser River mouth in 1792 Indians gave mulberries and shellfish, and when they found that Galiano⁴⁸ and Valdez needed water they went to their village and brought some vessels full of it. The Indians on Valdez Island "allowed but few minutes to pass without trying to point out to us⁴⁹ the dangers we were going to encounter and the mode and opportunity of triumphing over them." They accompanied the

⁴¹ Voyage: Vol. II., p. 286.

⁴² Journal: p. 212.

⁴³ Journal: p. 212.

⁴⁴ P. 182.

⁴⁵ P. 214.

⁴⁶ P. 218.

⁴⁷ Crespi: Diary.

⁴⁸ Sutil y Mexicana: pp. 55ff.

⁴⁹ Sutil y Mexicana: pp. 82ff.

ship through the dangerous channel when the sun reached the proper place on the mountain tops; then they sent, without any request on the Spaniards' part, a canoe with a man and woman to guide them. Referring to the Indians of the Gulf of Georgia met by the Galiano and Valdez expedition, Espinosa⁵⁰ writes of "the joy on their faces when they met us, and the kindness with which they treated us." Quadra records of the Nootkas that he never experienced any vexation at the hands of the natives. Bering's journalist speaks of the profuse expressions of good will with which that explorer's men were received.

Before leaving this subject of treatment, let us examine all cases as Mackenzie's⁵¹ treatment by the Burke's Canal Bella have little significance. We must exclude at the outset such cases of unfriendly reception, omitting only a few that seem to Coolas, for this was not a case of first contact; trading ships some months before, under "Bensins" and "Macuba" as the Indians remembered their names, laid the basis for Mackenzie's ill treatment. A similar case is Fraser's⁵² trouble at the mouth of his river in 1808. Traders for fifteen years had called there. Nor need Quadra's⁵³ troubles in southern Alaska engage us long. In one case he ordered native canoes out of the harbor. "They made signs," he says, "that we were the people who ought to leave the harbor, which belonged to them." Later he had a fight with them and killed some of them. The fight was over two of his crew whom he thought they had taken prisoners. When the struggle was over and an exchange of prisoners effected, he found to his chagrin that his men had not been stolen away by the Indians, but were attempting to desert him.

But we must consider for a moment Mackenzie's⁵⁴ tempest in a teapot among the Atnahs. He was not attacked, but hostile demonstrations threatened him until the matter was cleared

⁵⁰ *Sutil y Mexicana*: p. 153.

⁵¹ *Voyages*: Vol. II., p. 275ff.

⁵² *Journal*: pp. 203ff.

⁵³ *Expeditions*: p. 309ff.

⁵⁴ *Voyages*: Chapt. VII.

up. He had told them that he was going down the Tacooche Tesse to the sea. Suddenly he began a retrograde movement, to take a short-cut to the Pacific. His unheralded change of mind and the poor work of his interpreters came near costing him dearly. Harmon⁵⁵ among the Babines writes, "They came to meet us armed; they offered no offense, but showed that they could defend themselves." Franchere⁵⁶ records that McKay and Montigny when attacked by the Cowlitz "displayed a friendly sign to the astonished natives, and invited them to land for a friendly talk; to which they immediately assented." Then the Astorians learned that the Cowlitz were at war with the Kreluits (Skilutes); and for the Kreluits the attack had all the while been intended. Fraser,⁵⁷ returning to the Hacamaughs, thought that their attitude had changed, and that they were treating him coldly, until he learned that they were actually starving, and the degree of famine caused the disagreeable gloom which had so forcibly attracted his notice. Meares's⁵⁸ longboat under Duffin was attacked by natives probably at Nitinat, in 1788; but soon afterwards Duffin learned that these natives claimed Tatooche for chief, and Meares learned that Tatooche was at war with Wickaninish, who was Meares's closest ally among the Indians. The Nitinats, therefore, were at war with Meares in about the same way that the Japanese are at war with the Turks in the present war. Observe how, in these inimical cases, misunderstanding plays such a large part. "Misunderstanding through ignorance of the idiom may bring the most fatal consequences," writes Espinosa⁵⁹ of the Galiano and Valdez expedition. Hoskins⁶⁰ says on the same subject, "Too often it is the case that sailors when no officer is with them, from their ignorance of the language, either miscomprehend the natives or the natives them;

⁵⁵ Journal: p. 282.

⁵⁶ Narrative: p. 107.

⁵⁷ Journal: pp. 213, 214.

⁵⁸ Voyages: Appendix IV.

⁵⁹ Sutil y Mexicana: p. 20.

⁶⁰ Narrative: p. 38.

thus each deeming [that] the other insulted, a quarrel ensues. —As well in civilized as in savage governments, from small causes, great evils spring." Fraser⁶¹ was cautioned that he should not take any village by surprise, or mischance might follow. Cook⁶² describes the natives as quick to resent injury. Indians considered that all products of their country belonged to them; both Quadra⁶³ and Cook came near finding to their sorrow that all products included even water and grass.

There are but five cases of first contact along the coast (none in the interior) in which fatalities resulted. In 1788 Captain Gray⁶⁴ was sailing leisurely along the coast of Oregon, trading and provisioning when the wind was unfavorable for progress northward. Above Cape Lookout, probably at Killamook Bay, Indians in canoes brought out berries and boiled crabs which they furnished without payment, thus saving, according to Haswell, the lives of three or four sailors who were in the last stages of scurvy. Then the captain traded for furs, the natives taking whatever was offered without the slightest complaint. Several boat loads of wood and water were also taken aboard, the natives behaving with greatest propriety, but always armed and showing that they were armed. While waiting for a tide Coolidge and Haswell, officers, went ashore for their health. They took seven men ashore with them to get a load of grass and shrubbery for the livestock aboard. The Indians received them in a most friendly manner, invited them to their homes, and entertained them. One of the haymakers was Captain Gray's negro servant, Marcos, a boy from the Cape Verde Islands. He had stuck his cutlass into the ground. A curious or thieving Indian pulled it out and started off with it. The negro boy, in spite of everything his comrades could say to the contrary, dropped his load of grass, and screaming, pursued the thief. Other Indians soon surrounded him at the end of his chase. Haswell and Coolidge, out digging clams after their entertainment, heard the outcry, and ordered the chiefs to have

⁶¹ Journal: p. 160.

⁶² Voyage: II, 309.

⁶³ Expeditions: p. 290.

⁶⁴ Haswell: pp. 44-47.

the cutlass and the boy brought back. The chief coldly indicated that if the white men wanted these, they should go get them themselves. The negro boy had caught the Indian by the collar, and was crying out to his companions that he had caught the thief. In the fight that followed, the negro was killed with knife and arrow; and Gray's men, as they retreated to their boats, killed the leading Indians, and one of the white men was wounded with an arrow. Gray sailed away, and called the place Murderers' Harbor, a name which fortunately did not stick. Such fracascs have happened the world over, wherever sailors go ashore; and they need but little explanation. It may be noted here, however, that the Indians considered the hay their property, and probably did not understand at first that it was to be taken without pay. Cook⁶⁵ had tried to cut grass at Nootka; he paid the first proprietor liberally; soon there did not seem to be a single blade of grass that had not a separate owner, and his pockets were forthwith emptied.

A second case of hostile treatment was that met with by Captain Barkley⁶⁶ of the *Imperial Eagle* at the mouth of the Hoh River in 1787, one year earlier than Gray's fight. While anchored between Destruction Island and the mainland, he hoisted out the longboat and sent it with a smaller boat in tow to go up the river which could be seen from the ship, his purpose being trade with the natives. The longboat was in charge of William Miller, the second mate; Mr. Beale, the purser, and ten men. The river was found too shallow, as expected, for the longboat; and the smaller boat, with Messrs. Miller and Beale and four men, rowed away up stream, taking with them a sheet of copper for purposes of trade. These unfortunate persons were never seen again, though every exertion was made by the longboat's crew to find them before returning to the ship. The next day a strongly armed party was sent from the ship in search of the unfortunate people. A landing was effected and careful search made. Some portions

⁶⁵ Voyage: II, 284.

⁶⁶ Victoria Daily Colonist, Mar. 3, 1901, "Cruise of the *Imperial Eagle*."

of mangled and bloody clothing were found, but no part of the bodies or the boat. The dreadful conviction was forced upon the Imperial Eagle's crew that all had been murdered. Captain Barkley proceeded to China with a good collection of furs.

Another serious and mysterious case is recorded by Don Antonio Maurelle and Bodega y Quadra,⁶⁷ journalists of the Heceta expedition in 1775. The commander's ship was off to the south of the Quinault River, near Point Grenville. When the Spaniards landed and planted their cross, the natives present, in spite of this "insanity of civilization" were friendly and carried on pleasant intercourse. Quadra's tiny schooner lay some distance to the north, in a dangerous anchorage. Here also the natives were "tractable in disposition" and bartered skins with his crew. He⁶⁸ says: "I gave them beads, mirrors, and handkerchiefs, for which they endeavored to repay me with abundance of various fishes and whale flesh. After this reciprocal traffic I sent six men ashore well armed with the boatswain, to cut wood, timber for a cap which had split, and to replenish the water which we needed; but disembarking for their tasks, more than three hundred Indians fell upon them by surprise, and as far as I could see, slew them; for in the space of two hours I did not see in the midst of the tumult, more than one flash without report, from which I concluded that it was a misfire. I also noticed that two of my people started to swim to the ship, but if they were wounded, the coldness of the water or excessive loss of blood would prevent them from reaching it, and I am therefore in doubt whether they perished from drowning or by the hands of the traitors." As Quadra extricated his schooner, his men killed six of the Indians and sunk all their canoes in sight. He wished to return and make greater reprisals; but his superior, Heceta, overruled him. One month later, as Heceta without Quadra or a one of his men, was returning passed Point Grenville, ten Indians came off in a canoe to trade. Some of Heceta's sailors,

⁶⁷ Barrington: *Miscellany*: Don Antonio Maurelle.

⁶⁸ Expeditions: *First Voyage*, p. 285.

pretending to recognize some of those engaged in the massacre, threw grappling hooks at the canoe, hoping to capture the Indians and hold them for ransom in case any of the four Spaniards might be captive. But the hooks only struck Indians in the back and did not hold the canoe.

In a last effort to locate the spot where the Spaniards made the first landing ever effected on the Northwest coast and planted the first of many crosses for the King of Spain, the late Mr. Gilstrap of Tacoma inquired of Quilliute Indians near the spot in 1908, to find out what tradition had to say. The oldest Indian, who claimed as usual to be over a hundred, said that he had been told that the Indians were celebrating in their potlatch house. The Spaniards were invited to partake of the feast. Then the Spaniards wanted to trade for dried salmon. Indians would not trade, for could potlatch treasures be traded? Spaniards began to take the dried salmon from the line anyway, and Indians fell upon them and killed them. This tradition has a great deal to contend with, for it very likely confuses the Spaniards' disaster with the loss of the seven men by Captain Barkley of the *Imperial Eagle* twelve years later, and it is also most likely that the disaster occurred among the Quinalts instead of among the Quilliutes. The river was named *Martires* and the Island to the northward was named *Dolores* by Heceta; the island was renamed *Destruction* by Captain Barkley, and the river six miles to the north was named *Destruction River*. Meares gave the river and bay what he understood to be the native name, *Queenhithe*; it has since been known as *Elihoh*, and *Ohahlat*, and finally plain *Hoh*; and in all accounts since these early disasters, the natives of this region have been known as among the most inoffensive along the coast.

The fourth known case of inimical treatment, alike serious and mysterious, was that of the Russian *Chirikof*⁶⁹ in 1741, in connection with the real discovery of the Northwest coast—at least a day before Bering saw the high mountains of the St.

⁶⁹ Davidson: *Tracks and Landfalls of Bering and Chirikof*.

Elias Range. Chirikof needed water, and he desired to explore for a harbor. He sent a boat manned by Demetrief and nine others, fully armed even to a small brass cannon, and a complete set of signals for every emergency. First came the signal that the boat had landed safely; next followed signal after signal for three days that all was going well. Then all signals ceased; day followed day and the boat did not return. Chirikof, thinking that the boat might have suffered damage in some landing, sent his sole remaining boat under Savelief and five men, with instructions that at least one boat should return immediately after the missing boat had been succored. The second was seen to land and the men were observed to start off; but the gloom of night came on and there was no preparation for return. In the morning two canoes, one large and one small, were seen to put from shore, and the cry was raised that the two boats were returning. Then Chirikof, anxious to be gone from the place of so much suspense, gave orders for all to be in readiness to sail. In the confusion of preparation no one seems to have noticed until the canoes were nearly alongside that they were filled with natives. Then the Russian sailors came thronging on deck until the natives, circling about the ship as was their custom in receiving strangers, were frightened by the numbers; and with cries of "Akai! Akai!" the Sitkas sped for shore. Then Chirikof, heartsick, cursed his ill stars that his men had frightened them off, for he felt that his missing men were likely prisoners and could be ransomed. He had no boats left with which to make a landing; a storm came up, and he was compelled to run for the open sea. But the veteran loved his men, his followers for many years; and when the storm was over he came back and coasted for some days, firing signals; but no signs of either Indians or his lost men could he find. The council of officers voted to return to Avatcha, in Siberia.

Our American Captain Gray had more than his share of conflicts with the natives, but the supposed fight at Gray's Harbor⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Ore. Pioneer Association, Transactions, 1892, p. 20.

(then known as Bulfinch's Harbor) reported by Porter in his paper before the Oregon Pioneer Association at the celebration at Astoria, in 1892, of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Columbia River, seems to have been a mistake due to a geographical error. The fighting, done chiefly by Gray's side, occurred a year earlier, at a place called Chickleset village on Bulfinch's Sound, not Bulfinch's Harbor. None of Gray's men were injured. Hoskins⁷¹ tells the story in detail; and if there occurred a year later a second fight at a second Chickleset village situated on Bulfinch's Harbor as the first was situated on Bulfinch's Sound, then that was a marvel of nomenclature that the Bulfinch⁷² extract made in 1816 from the Second Volume of the Log Book of the Ship Columbia should likely have mentioned. But Gray did have one⁷³ more encounter, fatal to three of his crew, seemingly somewhere on Portland Canal, in 1791. Considerable familiarity had grown up between the crew and the natives, and it is not at all certain that this was a first meeting between the races; near-by regions had been frequented by traders for four years. A small detachment from Gray's crew, consisting of Caswell the first mate, Barnes, and Folger, had gone some little distance in the jolly boat to fish. They were cruelly murdered by the Indians. Gray recovered Caswell's body, and sailed away, naming the place, as previously at Killamook, Massacre Cove, and the headland Murderers' Cape.

Such is the record; practically all receptions were hospitable except these five. These were friendly at first, before trouble arose that proved fatal. Practically all of the journalists, even four of the five adverse cases, speaks in definite terms favorable to the natives. All these seem to be cases of first contact, and must not be confused with the hostile attacks and massacres later as in the case of the *Boston* and the *Tonquin*. We need only to read a few such journals as Ingraham's, Hoskins' or "A New Vancouver Journal" to learn that the trade relations

⁷¹ Narrative: pp. 37-39.

⁷² Proceedings: p. 87.

⁷³ Proceedings: p. 75.

had been be-deviled ten, yes even twenty, years before the fate of Astor's *Tonquin*; and some of our American traders whose names are now highly honored, were no whit less culpable than the slaughtering Promyshleniki, the *coureurs des bois* of the Russians.

When the Lewis and Clark expedition came below the Cascades, according to Whitehouse,⁷⁴ they found an Indian who could "curse some words in English." It is reasonably certain that this Indian had to learn English in order to do this cursing; for the natives had no language for taking the name of their god in vain. In fact, many of these early journalists could not make out definitely whether the Indians had any god at all. Of course this was due to the brevity of the observations in many cases, and to the fact that Indians had no temples, no priests, no public worship in the usual sense. Most tribes went no further in naming their god than to call him the Good Spirit or even the Great Mystery; just as our greatest English philosopher has called God the Unknowable. Thompson, who was with the Indians longest and met as many new tribes intimately as any explorer not even excepting Vancouver, says that their religion was simple and natural, without sacrifices or superstitions. They acknowledged a Great Spirit who dwelt in the clouds to be the master of everything. Mackenzie⁷⁵ says that their religion was of a very contracted nature. Of the Bella Coolas⁷⁶ he says that they believed in two spirits, Good and Evil; they tried to conciliate the one and avert the enmity of the other. Harmon⁷⁷ says of the neighboring Tacullies that they have a very confused and limited idea of the existence of a supreme being, but that they believe in the immortality of the soul. The Nootkas readily permitted Jewitt,⁷⁸ a prisoner from the plundered ship Boston, to worship his own god in his own way. He⁷⁹ says further that the Indians "believed in a Supreme Being, the Great Tyee of the sky." Lewis

⁷⁴ Original Journals: Vol. VII., p. 187.

⁷⁵ Voyages: Vol. II., p. 24.

⁷⁶ Voyages: Vol. II., p. 313.

⁷⁷ Journal: 292.

⁷⁸ Adventures: Chapter IX.

⁷⁹ Adventures: p. 216.

and Clark report that the Shoshones "implore the Great Spirit for protection." Ross⁸⁰ records that the Okanogans believed in a good and an evil spirit, both invincible. Practically all journalists agree with Cook⁸¹ that Indians paid no religious homage to their carved images. Lisiansky⁸² says they believe in a Creator of all things, who, when angry, sends down diseases. Mosino,⁸³ the scientist with Quadra at Nootka, says, "They recognize the existence of a God the Creator and Preserver of all things; a malignant being, author of wars, sickness, and death; they abominate this odious origin of their calamities, as they venerate and exalt the good God who has created them." Don Antonio Maurelle,⁸⁴ learning that Indians had a plurality of wives, inferred "*with good cause*," so he says, "that they were atheists."

La Perouse,⁸⁵ the French explorer, could not find the least trace of any worship, though he had said previously that before the natives came on board they seemed to address a prayer to the sun. His stay was brief, however, and his observation centered chiefly on externals. Malaspina⁸⁶ thought that because Indians thought he was worshipping the sun with his astronomical instruments they treated him with greatest consideration. Quadra⁸⁷ also saw indications of sun worship, though otherwise he saw not the slightest trace of idolatry. Haswell⁸⁸ reports great adoration to the sun, and the belief in a "supreme god and a Deavle." Thompson says that the sun, moon, and stars were divinities, above all the sun, who made the lightning, thunder and rain. By the most painstaking observers prayer was often seen and described. Haswell⁸⁹ reports that he had "seen old people appear to pray with great fervor and shed tears." Thompson⁹⁰ describes the chiefs as they made short prayers at

80 Adventures: p. 288.

81 Voyage: II, p. 318 and 334.

82 Voyage: p. 243.

83 Sutil y Mexicana: Vol. II., p. 137.

84 Barrington: Miscellany: Don Antonio Maurelle.

85 Voyage: Vol. II., p. 144 and p. 88.

86 Voyage: p. 160.

87 Expeditions: p. 318.

88 Voyage: p. 86.

89 Voyage: p. 87.

90 Ore. Hist. Quarterly: XV., pp. 42ff.

their receptions to him. Jewitt⁹¹ reports that before a whaling expedition the Indians passed a day alone in the mountains to sing and pray to their god. Each fasted for two days; then the whole crew fasted for a week, bathing and rubbing their bodies several times each day. He⁹² records that on many other occasions they repaired in secret to the woods to pray; and that bathing was always a ceremony of prayer. He⁹³ came upon women miles from any village, with eyes shut and face turned towards heaven, praying; this going alone into the woods to pray was frequent. Lewis and Clark⁹⁴ say that the wonderful fireworks display among the Chopunish of setting the fir tree on fire was a kind of prayer to bring fair weather to the traveler's journey. Thompson⁹⁵ reports of nearly all of his tribes that they danced "that we might be preserved on the strong rapids"; "for our good voyage and preservation to the sea and back again"; "each dance ended with a kind of prayer for our safety." "All their dances," he says, "are a kind of religious prayer for some end." "They never assume a gay, joyous countenance, but always are of serious turn, with often a trace of enthusiasm." "They continually kept blessing us, and wishing us all manner of good visiting them, with clapping their hands and extending them to the skies." Again he says that their worship was in dancing. Ross⁹⁶ says of the same tribes that on all solemn occasions they have a short prayer, though there are no places of worship, public or private. When Galiano and Valdez⁹⁷ laughed at Maquinna's prayer for good weather for their ship to sail, they were rebuked by the natives. As they⁹⁸ were leaving Neah Bay the chief Tetacus, when the ship was becalmed, "turned to the point from which we wanted the wind to come, became serious, stretched out his arms, and began to move his fingers; he now closed one down, then all down, then put out two,

91 Adventures: p. 180.

92 Adventures: 216.

93 Adventures: p. 217.

94 Original Journals: Vol. V., p. 159.

95 Ore. Hist. Quarterly: Vol. XV., Nos. 1 and 2.

96 Adventures: p. 288.

97 Sutil y Mexicana: p. 22.

98 Sutil y Mexicana: p. 37.

then raised one, and left it thus for a short time, and during all this he remained in a sort of abstraction which indicated that he was praying mentally." Harmon⁹⁹ reports that the Carriers, when the sun was eclipsed in 1811, "took their hands full of swans' down and blew it through their hands towards the sun, imploring that great luminary to accept the offering thus made him, to be put on the heads of his sons when engaged in dancing, and to spare the Indians."

Ideas¹⁰⁰ of future life varied with different tribes and even with individuals. Haswell¹⁰¹ records that they supposed their departed friends became guardians and senders of the fish animals that are of most service to them. "They think it gives the deceased great pain to cut particular fish with a knife, and that they send no more if it is allowed of." Jewitt¹⁰² says that at death, property of the deceased was burned, destroyed, or buried, not that it might accompany him to the spirit land, but to keep people from the temptation to speak his name. Ross¹⁰³ says that the deceased's property was burned or destroyed, otherwise the spirit would never be at rest. Most journalists agree with Franchere¹⁰⁴ that Indians believe in a state of future existence. Thompson records several cases which show how the idea of "Life after Death" was deep-rooted in every nature. Indians like other races were all superstitious in one way or another. The superstitions were strongest regarding the salmon, the universal food, even for the inland tribes of the Northwest, the failure of which meant starvation. "Salmon do not like the smell of iron," the Dinees declared to Mackenzie;¹⁰⁵ they said the same thing of venison, that the salmon would smell it and come no more. When one of his men threw a deer bone into the river, a native instantly dived, brought it up, and burned it. So they would not let him use his astronomical instruments, for fear he might

99 Journal: p. 207.

100 Alexander Henry: Travels.

101 Voyage: p. 86.

102 Adventures: p. 174.

103 Adventures: p. 321.

104 Narrative: p. 259.

105 Voyages: Vol. II., p. 247ff.

frighten the salmon away. Thompson at Kettle Falls found that these things were not superstition, but based upon the fact that salmon ran off when any pollution was thrown into the river. Farther down the Bella Coola, Mackenzie was requested not to discharge fire-arms for the same reason. If a Nootka ever ate bear meat, according to Jewitt and others, he abstained from eating salmon for two months, or the salmon would hear of it and come no more. Lewis and Clark¹⁰⁶ report that at the Falls of the Columbia, the first salmon was divided up, one piece for each child in the camp, to hasten the arrival of the salmon run. Ross¹⁰⁷ says that for the first ten days the salmon among the Chinooks must not be cut crosswise nor boiled, but roasted; must not be sold without the heart being taken out, and must be eaten the same day they are taken from the river. Franchere¹⁰⁸ adds that if these regulations were not observed, the river would be obstructed and the fishing ruined. Many similar superstitions are recorded by later observers. The salmon played such an important part in their lives that no wonder the cry, "Salmon have come! Salmon have come!" was caught up with joy and uttered with animation by every person in the village, as told so graphically by Harmon.¹⁰⁹

Music was closely related to religion. A common method of expressing joy was drumming with sticks on roofs and sides of houses; but the Indian had a better way of expressing his deeper religious feelings. The chants of the Hoonids reminded La Perouse¹¹⁰ of the "plain songs" of the churches of France. "The air of these songs—greatly resembled those which I have heard sung in the Roman Catholic Church," writes Harmon.¹¹¹ Mackenzie speaks of the Atnahs' soft, plaintive tones, and modulation that was rather agreeable; it had, he said, somewhat the air of church music. Hoskins¹¹² reports that by

¹⁰⁶ Original Journals: Vol. IV., p. 300.

¹⁰⁷ Adventures: p. 97.

¹⁰⁸ Narrative: p. 260.

¹⁰⁹ Journal: p. 223.

¹¹⁰ Voyage: p. 88.

¹¹¹ Journal: p. 305.

¹¹² Narrative: p. 99.

1791 the Spaniards had been among the Tatooches endeavoring to convert them to Christianity. The chief said that he and several others had been baptized, as had several of their children. This ceremony he went through, as also the chanting of some of their hymns with the most serious religious air: "Though it was in broken Spanish [Latin?] and Indian, yet he imitated the sounds of their voices, their motions, and religious cants of their faces to a miracle, at the same time condemned our irreligious manner of life." These early baptisms by Catholic priests solve the strange mystery which troubled Galiano and Valdez¹¹³ next year when they heard Tetacus (Tattooche) call his favorite wife "Marie"; which the chief pronounced over and over till he convinced the Spanish commanders that it was the real Christian name. After a musical concert by natives for a chief who had been sick for a long time over the death of his daughter, Hoskins¹¹⁴ asked whether the music did not annoy the sick chief; the sick man replied that the music was very pleasing to him; for, he said, "a few nights since the moon when he was asleep told him that if he had have had a great deal of singing his child would not have died, and unless he himself had he would also die; therefore he every day should have a concert." "Superstitious wretch," cries Hoskins, "but thou art a child of nature!" Marchand¹¹⁵ calls singing among the Indians a social institution. The language of song¹¹⁶ was different from the language of conversation. The Indians of the north coast seem to have been especially fond of music, and proficient in the art as they understood it. "Sutil y Mexicana"¹¹⁷ informs us, "Maquinna found fault with our trills and all music in which the soft langour of b flat predominated, saying that the one who trilled seemed to be shivering with cold, and the other sang like a man half asleep." Mosino¹¹⁸ says, "Chief Quicomasia, having heard some of our instruments, said that they did not please him, as

¹¹³ *Sutil y Mexicana*: p. 30ff.

¹¹⁴ *Narrative*: p. 113.

¹¹⁵ *Voyage*: I, 350.

¹¹⁶ *Jewitt: Adventures*: p. 129.

¹¹⁷ *Vol. II.*, p. 151.

¹¹⁸ *Sutil y Mexicana*: Vol. II., p. 151.

they seemed to resemble the songs of the birds, which amuse the ear, without touching the heart." He¹¹⁹ further records that chiefs had no use for poetry and music except to praise their god and celebrate the deeds of illustrious living heroes; but music, he said, was used "profanely among the Plebeans." Cook¹²⁰ says that these Indians were fond of music and sang in the exactest concert, great numbers together. Their songs were slow and solemn, the variations numerous and expressive, the cadence and melody powerfully soothing. Marchand¹²¹ says that all beat time, and that they have so true an ear that never more than a single stroke is heard. Meares¹²² was charmed with the music of the Tatooches, "for its simple melody of nature; proceeding in perfect union and exact measure from 400 voices; it found its way to our hearts." The unknown author of "A New Vancouver Journal"¹²³ thus compliments Maquinna's entertainment of song, dance, and pantomime: "Thus ended this entertainment in which there was something grand and curious and well worth coming the distance from Nootka to see alone." Fray Crespi,¹²⁴ hearing the Kaicanies sing, exclaims "*By the air* we knew that they were pagans!"

To sum up: All except the French observer La Pérouse agree that the Indians believed in a good spirit; that there were no temples, no idols, no priests; that there was little public worship; that prayer was common, especially in retirement; that though they believed in "Life after Death," their ideas of that future life varied; and that music was usually associated with religion.

That Indians were honest and faithful to their word is recorded and exemplified by most of the journals. Mackenzie¹²⁵ reports that they were remarkable for honesty. The wretched Sicanies left the beaver skins as promised stuck up on a pole,

¹¹⁹ Ibid: p. 151.

¹²⁰ Voyage: II., p. 310.

¹²¹ Voyage: I., p. 351.

¹²² Voyage: p. 157.

¹²³ Wash. Hist. Quarterly: V., p. 305.

¹²⁴ Crespi: Diary.

¹²⁵ Voyages: II., 25.

so that when he¹²⁶ returned two months later he found the skins there and completed the first beaver trade debt overland west of the mountains. All the four journalists of the Lewis and Clark expedition speak of the Shoshones as extremely honest, and instance the lost tomahawk that was returned without the asking, and the borrowing of knives and kettles, always carefully returned. Whitehouse¹²⁷ called the Tushapaws "the honestest savages we have ever seen." Lewis and Clark¹²⁸ speak warmly of the Walla Wallas' act of integrity in bringing to them the steel-trap that was left behind; they call them the most hospitable, honest, and sincere people met with in their voyage. Thompson shows of the Upper Columbia tribes that they were usually truthful and did not tell more than they knew of local geography. Fraser,¹²⁹ following Indian geography, laid out the first highway in British Columbia in 1807. Duncan,¹³⁰ first among the Makahs, was given the first Indian information of Puget Sound, which Vancouver three years later put to proof. Vancouver calls the Chickamun and many other tribes honest in trade and traffic. Captain Cook¹³¹ says that in his trading with the natives there was the strictest honesty on both sides. Of the Muchusks on Cook's Inlet he says, "They trafficked with our people for some time, without ever giving us reason to accuse them of any act of dishonesty." The author of "A New Vancouver Journal"¹³³ says that notwithstanding a treacherous, piratical disposition, the chiefs behave with some degree of honor to those with whom they make bargains. He cites: "Wicananish amongst others frequently receives in advance from the masters of vessels (particularly one Kendrick) the value of from 50 to 100 skins to be paid in a certain time, which hitherto he has commonly fulfilled, and when the *Butterworth* and *Jenny* were together in

126 Voyages: Vol. II., p. 102 and p. 329.

127 Original Journals: VII., 150.

128 Original Journals: IV., 345.

129 First Journal.

130 Descriptive note to Dalrymple's Map, 1790, sketched by Duncan, and showing entrance to Straits of Juan de Fuca.

131 Voyages: II., p. 270.

132 Voyage: II., p. 393.

133 Wash. Hist. Quarterly: VI., 64.

that part I have understood that they could not purchase a skin, as Wicananish was making up a quantity he owed and had likewise made a promise to the person he was in debt to to keep all the skins for him over and above the sum due, that he collected."

Fraser¹³⁴ records that the Atnahs brought to Mr. Quesnil a pistol which he lost while out riding. He says that while many things were left loose and scattered about in such a manner as to afford all opportunity to the natives, nothing went astray. He cached most of his goods and put away his canoes in the presence of the Indians. Then he¹³⁵ made another cache, unknown to the natives. The latter was torn open by wild animals; the natives saved what they could for him.¹³⁶ The articles in the caches left in their charge were safe, for Indians had continually attended to their safety during his absence. Another cache was kept safe by another tribe, though the keepers were on the verge of starvation. "They deserved much credit for abstaining," he¹³⁷ says. He rewarded the keeper, who immediately divided with all his tribe. Once on his trip two Indians overtook him¹³⁸ with a piece of iron his men had forgotten; and iron was like gold to them. At another point, as he¹³⁹ was coming back up the river, natives restored to him various articles which had been lost in the wreck of a canoe going down. Espinosa¹⁴⁰ writes of the exactness with which all the Indians fulfil their contracts. He relates that Natzapa, on Vancouver Island, asked sundry individuals of the packet San Carlos for sheets of copper and other objects on credit to take to the Nuchiwas and obtain skins. "He had the misfortune to upset his canoe. He lost his wife, whom he loved dearly, his own property, also that of the other people which he was taking. It would seem that in such sad circumstances he might easily have excused himself from paying his

¹³⁴ Journal: p. 167.

¹³⁵ Journal: 167.

¹³⁶ Journal: 215.

¹³⁷ Journal: 219.

¹³⁸ Journal: 184.

¹³⁸ Journal: 184.

¹⁴⁰ *Sutil y Mexicana*: p. 155.

creditors; but in accordance with his ideas of rectitude he took upon himself the entire weight of his misfortunes and worked incessantly until he had paid all that he owed." Here, from a Spanish scientist, observing Indian life, we get an exact parallel to the heroism of Sir Walter Scot when he assumed all the half million debt of his firm when the crash came, and paid it all by his own heroic labor.

Of course Indians would pilfer and steal; and the more they associated with coasting traders the more the propensity grew. Curiosity, "childish curiosity," according to Cook,¹⁴¹ played a strong part in the earliest thefts. Vancouver¹⁴² records an attempt to steal a note-book which of course the Indians couldn't read. Nothing so fascinated the natives as a scrap of writing. This pilfering went so far among the Chugatches as a plan to plunder Cook's¹⁴³ ship, the *Discovery*; and if Spaniards set up an astronomical observatory ashore, "their importunity and their inclination to steal," remarks Navarrete,¹⁴⁴ soon made it necessary to move the said observatory on board again.¹⁴⁵

Government among the Indians seems to have been loose and simple, but sufficiently efficient. Quadra¹⁴⁶ on the coast found all submitting to the old men of the tribe, and apparently living in good harmony. Malaspina¹⁴⁷ likewise found chiefs the venerable old men of the tribes; but according to Cook¹⁴⁸ the chiefs were not always elderly men. Many of the inland tribes had two chiefs, one the civil, and the other the war chief. The former was the real head of the tribe. Lewis and Clark¹⁴⁹ observed that the creation of chiefs is due to their ability, bravery for a war chief being a prime requisite; that the influence of the chiefs is only such as they win, for each individual is his own sovereign master. Captain Chanal¹⁵⁰ of

¹⁴¹ Voyage: II., p. 312.

¹⁴² Voyage: Vol. II., p. 273.

¹⁴³ Voyage: II., p. 360.

¹⁴⁴ *Sutil y Mexicana*: Vol. I.

¹⁴⁵ See also Malaspina: pp. 156ff.

¹⁴⁶ Expeditions: p. 318ff.

¹⁴⁷ Voyage: p. 155.

¹⁴⁸ Voyage: II., p. 334.

¹⁴⁹ Original Journals: Vol. II., p. 370.

¹⁵⁰ Voyage: I., 358.

the Marchand expedition, thought the chiefs were chosen because of ability in trade. No chief has power over the property of individuals. Ross¹⁵¹ says that the chief's control is nominal; the Indian maxim is that Indians were born to be free, and that no man had a natural right to the obedience of another. There is no coercive power to back the will of the chief, yet he is seldom disobeyed. He seldom interferes in family affairs, the ordinary routine of daily occurrences. Every morning at daybreak he rides or walks about the village and harangues as he goes; the business of the day is then and there settled; but he never interferes with the affairs of individuals. This custom of the morning harangue is preserved to this day; the chief in this determines the movement of the camp as a whole, hunting parties, fishing, etc. Weightier matters always are brought before a council, a government by the most important men of the tribe. These councils are ceremonial and always orderly. After the chief has opened the matter, councilors speak to the point, always one at a time and earnestly and orderly. Mackenzie¹⁵² found the Dinees quiet and peaceable, never making any incursions into the lands of their neighbors. Lewis and Clark¹⁵³ report the Shoshones and other tribes very orderly, not prone to crowd around or disturb. Captain Chanal¹⁵⁴ says that in traffic they were orderly, no confusion, no disputes, neither eager, urgent, noisy nor importunate. Thompson, except at The Dalles, invariably reports that the Indians behaved well, and were under the control of the chiefs. Navarrete¹⁵⁵ tells us that Indians deal kindly among themselves, and do not allow themselves to be carried away with anger. Jewitt¹⁵⁶ says that there are no violent quarrels between citizens.

There is no compulsion in going to war. Thompson describes the Kullyspell Indians' customs of mustering, which may be regarded as typical. If a small group is anxious to

¹⁵¹ *Adventures*: p. 293.

¹⁵² *Voyages*: Ch. IX.

¹⁵³ *Original Journals*: III., p. 14.

¹⁵⁴ *Marchand*: I., 359.

¹⁵⁵ *Sutil y Mexicana*: Vol. I.

¹⁵⁶ *Adventures*: p. 220.

get up a war party, the individuals put white earth on their heads, and for a few days pretend to be crying for relatives and friends who have fallen in raids by the enemy. If the tribe favors war, others put on white earth and pretend to cry. The movement gets so strong that the chief calls a council. If the council decides adversely, the wearing of white earth probably ceases; if favorably, two good agents are sent to the next tribe who are friendly. These emissaries go about their work in the new tribe just as the original white-earth wearers in their own tribe; the same process is carried through. But if the tribe is against, any who please as individuals may join the war party. The tribes or parts of tribes thus confederated for this special war now elect a war chief. If later events show that the party is too weak for war, the end and aim is probably changed to the next most dangerous and therefore most glorious exploit; namely, horse-stealing. But even in this, to fulfill vows, some blood must be shed, if it is only that the chief cuts his own arm.

A noteworthy feature of Indian government was the scarcity of punishments, especially their aversion to corporal punishment. Most tribes never punished their children, for they said that it cowed and broke the spirit of the boy to whip him. They objected strenuously even to flogging of white men by white men under the then current military code. When Jewitt¹⁵⁷ explained to a chief whose brother was insane just how insane people were whipped in England to restore their sanity, the chief reluctantly ordered his brother whipped by Jewitt's brutal companion; but when the chief saw his brother writhing in pain from the white man's lash, he ordered the proceedings stopped, and said that if there were no other way to cure him but by whipping, he must remain mad. The Indian died, haunted by the spirits of the white men he had slain when the crew of the *Boston* were massacred. Harmon¹⁵⁸ once had the temerity to flog an Indian; in his own words, he "chastised the chief severely with a yardstick." It looked much like

¹⁵⁷ *Adventures*: p. 177.

¹⁵⁸ *Journal*: p. 207.

a mistake for a while; but next day "the Indian came back and now considered that he was my wife! He thanked me for what I had done, for it had given him sense!" A blow, especially in public, is considered a most serious disgrace. Indians, though great rovers, were greatly attached to their place of birth, and would not leave that region willingly for any part of the world. They were contented and cheerful, he¹⁵⁹ says, in the midst of severe privations.

Indian tribes on the coast usually held slaves; among inland tribes slavery was not so frequent. Slaves were either purchased or taken in war. Most of them were well treated, and were about as well off as their masters. Ross says that masters were kind and indulgent to their slaves. In paddling the canoe, and in hauling the net, masters always took a hand with their slaves. In most tribes women did much of the drudgery and routine, although some tribes, as the Carriers¹⁶⁰ and the Yakimas, men took a large share in the work of women. Captain Chenal¹⁶¹ observed that the men reserved for themselves the more laborious work. Indians, even the men, if you please, were industrious except when food was in great abundance and the climate mild. Ross says that the Okanogans were always employed and industrious. Thompson says that the Indians west of the Rockies prided themselves on their industry and skill in doing anything. Cook¹⁶² says that everything they have is as well and ingeniously made as if they were furnished with the most complete tool-chest; and worthy to be put in competition with the most delicate manufactures of the known world. Even the degenerate Carriers, according to Harmon,¹⁶³ were glad to be given work to do. They were indolent from habit, he thought, not from nature. Hunting, fishing, traffic, and sometimes war, occupied the men; root-gathering, berry-picking, garment making, and household cares occupied the women. Shell money or *hiagua*,

¹⁵⁹ Journal: p. 182ff.

¹⁶⁰ Harmon: p. 292.

¹⁶¹ Marchand: I., p. 361.

¹⁶² Voyage: II., 373, 374.

¹⁶³ Journal: p. 285.

beaver skins and beads were the mediums of exchange; but copper, iron, and sea-otter skins were financial standards along the coast. Indians were skilled traders before white men came, according to all accounts, and within a few years, according to Marchand,¹⁶⁴ the most skilled of the white race had little to teach them. This trading often called for traffic over mountain ranges, as from the Okanogan¹⁶⁵ to the Puget Sound or Whulge over the Cascade Mountains; or passed great river obstructions, as on the Columbia at The Dalles.

Though their tools were crude and limited, Indians were skilled in many lines of carving, boat-making, and fabricating implements for fishing, hunting, and storing provisions. In praise of their physical skill we have many notable accounts. Fraser,¹⁶⁶ describing their chase after wild sheep, calls them really expert. "They run full speed among the perpendicular rocks; which had I not ocular demonstration I could never have believed to have been trained by any creature, either the human or the brute creation; for the rocks appear to us (which perhaps might be exaggerated a little from the distance) to be as steep as a wall; and yet while in pursuit of the sheep they bounded from one to another with the swiftness of a roe; and at last killed two in their snares." Jewitt¹⁶⁷ describes the wonderful skill of the Nootkas in taking the whale, the "King's Fish." The coast tribes, both men and women, were accorded the position of the best canoe managers ever seen; the plains and mountain tribes, both men and women, were noted for their extremely good horsemanship. In fleetness of foot one Indian proved as swift as Drewyer and Reuben Fields, the best that Lewis and Clark¹⁶⁸ could trot out. At Priests Rapids Thompson¹⁶⁹ saw an old man who ran nearly as fast as a horse, a marvel to him and his men. Fraser¹⁷⁰ describes the wonderful skill of Indians in scrambling the "Jacob's Ladder." "They

¹⁶⁴ Voyage: Vol. I., p. 286.

¹⁶⁵ Ross: Adventures: p. 291.

¹⁶⁶ First Journal.

¹⁶⁷ Adventures: pp. 122 and 178.

¹⁶⁸ Original Journals: V., p. 117.

¹⁶⁹ Ore. Hist. Quarterly: XV., 55.

¹⁷⁰ Journal: p. 211.

went up and down these wild places with the same agility as sailors do on board a ship."

Lastly, let us consider the most intimate of all, the Indian family relationship. Polygamy was permitted, but was not the usual state, and was unknown among a few tribes such as the Red Fish Dinees¹⁷¹ and the Yakimas. Thompson gives us a most enlightening account of polygamy—more so than any of the other journalists. He ascribes the cause of it to the wife rather than to the husband; unless she or her husband have widowed relatives who live with them in the same tent, the wife is unable to do the work when the family comes. A second wife is necessary because of the great amount of work. Then, too, friends when dying often bequeath wives to certain bosom friends who they know will take care of them in the sense of providing a living for them. Sometimes an Indian man would thus have four or five wives, willy nilly except the first; often the burden of supporting so many was very great, and the work necessary to ward off starvation was done in a quiet spirit of heroism.

Indian children in a family were few, from two to four, due to hardships endured by mothers. Mackenzie¹⁷² says that Indians considered the state of women in labor as among the most trifling occurrences of physical pain, and were justified in this apparent insensibility. All other testimony was to the same effect. Marriages occurred while the parties were comparatively young. The betrothal was usually arranged and presents given by parents years before. Sometimes these betrothals were broken, and much misery and strife resulted. Most tribes of the interior esteemed chastity a virtue, violation of which was punished with death. Thompson calls the Saleesh a fine race of moral Indians, the finest he had ever seen, and he was a strict judge. Alexander Henry, Junior,¹⁷³ said the same thing of the Saleesh, and he was undeniably a degenerate. Chastity was not always a virtue among some of the coast tribes, especially among the lower and slave classes.

¹⁷¹ Mackenzie, *Voyages*: Ch. VIII.

¹⁷² *Voyages*: Vol. II., p. 16.

¹⁷³ *New Light*: Vol. II., p. 710.

Hoskins¹⁷⁴ reports that Gray's crew found women exceedingly modest; nothing could tempt them to come on board ship. Dixon¹⁷⁵ records a sensitiveness in regards to incontinency which is certainly not surpassed among civilized peoples. "The New Vancouver Journal"¹⁷⁶ contains the following record: "The women are very modest in their behavior, and cannot bear the most trifling attacks of gallantry. An indelicate word will often bring tears to their eyes; but as there are few societies without a bad member or two, so it was here." Jewitt¹⁷⁷ was sure that sailors gained a wrong impression of Indian chastity at some harbors, due to the fact that some masters prostituted their slaves. Other evidence indicates that Jewitt was right. The earliest explorers, La Pérouse among the Hoonids excepted, give strong testimony to Indian virtue. Ross,¹⁷⁸ who ought to know, as his lifelong companion was an Okanogan woman, says, "The women have in general an engaging sweetness, are good housewives, modest in their demeanor, affectionate and chaste, and strongly attached to their husbands and children. Each family is ruled by the joint will or authority of husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter." Chenal¹⁷⁹ says that husbands usually consulted their wives before concluding a bargain. Mackenzie¹⁸⁰ says that though women are as slaves, their advice is sought in everything except matters relating to woman's domestic situation. Clark¹⁸¹ says that among the Shoshones women "are held more sacred" than among any they had seen east of the Rockies.

Family love was a strong feature of Indian life. Natives were fond of their children, says Mackenzie,¹⁸² but careless in their mode of taking care of them. Maquinna came near killing Jewitt's companion in captivity, for striking his son. Indians, as said before, did not whip their children; shame

¹⁷⁴ Narrative: p. 43.

¹⁷⁵ Voyage: p. 227.

¹⁷⁶ Wash. Hist. Quarterly: VI., 61.

¹⁷⁷ Adventures: p. 131.

¹⁷⁸ Adventures: p. 295.

¹⁷⁹ Marchand: I., p. 360.

¹⁸⁰ Voyages: II., 26.

¹⁸¹ Original Journal: III., p. 10.

¹⁸² Voyages: II., 26.

and the ridicule of other children in the open camp punished them. The family members usually lived together in greatest happiness, according to Lewis and Clark.¹⁸³ The Chopunish and the Multnomahs, they wrote, respected old age with veneration. Mackenzie reports the same of the Atnahs. Haswell¹⁸⁴ reports the "collections of contributions at the chief's house, from which it was carried in procession to the home of the deceased and presented to the widow and children. Like donations, they say, are always practiced on similar occasions." Ross¹⁸⁵ describes the strong family attachment among the Okanogans, and the special favors shown to the young in giving them always the new and clean dress. Husbands, he says, were kind and indulgent. Thompson says that women and children were treated with kind attention. Vancouver calls the tribes he met "happy, cheerful people." Fraser¹⁸⁶ describes a guide who refused to go with him, alleging that his wife and children would be subject to starvation. When this was provided against, he went. The Hacamaugh¹⁸⁷ chief had his old and blind father carried by attendants and introduced into the council room and given every attention. Espinosa¹⁸⁸ describes at length the warm affection and regard for each other among the family of Tetacus, probably none other than the great chief Tatooche. Wife-beating, as among white people, was not unknown; but a blow in public was beyond the power of endurance, as Thompson's Journal clearly shows. In this particular case it led to suicide.

Indians were strong on bathing; but the custom of painting the face, body, and hair, and the lack of soap, more than offset the effects of frequent bathing. Jewitt¹⁸⁹ says that the Indians bathed once a day winter and summer, and scoured the paint off with rushes. Mackenzie¹⁹⁰ reports that Indians bathe frequently; and that small boys, as usual, are continually

183 Original Journals: III., p. 126.

184 Voyage: p. 87.

185 Adventures: p. 297.

186 Journal: p. 162.

187 Fraser's Journal: p. 183.

188 Sutil y Mexicana: II., 36.

189 Adventures: p. 118.

190 Voyages: Vol. II.

in the water. The sweat-bath was an institution among the inland tribes described by all but a few journalists. Lewis and Clark¹⁹¹ record that the Clatsops washed their hands, evidently a noteworthy event. The same writers describe Indians as fond of hot,¹⁹² cold, and vapor baths, and speak in highest terms of the cleanliness of the Chopunish. Thompson testifies likewise for the Saleesh and numerous other tribes, as does Ross for the Okanogans, and Cook for the Chugatches. Filth was, however, one of the deplorable features of Indian life, not at all in keeping with many other traits of character. Cleanliness among but few tribes was next to godliness in the associations of the sweat-bath, fasting, and prayer. Even the lice-eaters, however, accounted for their filthy custom on the ground of gratitude.

Although Indian vices were fewer than those of white people, they had certain vices which all agree were native to the race, for white men found them when they first came. One from which they suffered most was a combination of gluttony, waste, and improvidence. There were regular seasons of abundance and famine; only few tribes had sufficient foresight to make ample provision against the season of scarcity. Another vice was gambling, the passion for which led to almost unbelievable sacrifices. Suicide was rare among the men; and even among the women and slaves, where life was the hardest, it was not very common. Cannibalism was rare; most tribes, notably the one¹⁹³ here in the neighborhood of Tacoma, held the idea in abhorrence. Indians made fun of white men for eating dog and horse meat, so common among the Astorians and North-Westerners; some fish-eating tribes even held venison in the same abhorrence. Intoxication, later the Indians' bane, was unknown at first, and was stoutly resisted as shameful and downright disgraceful. We have shown how in cases of first contact Indians regarded white men as superior; but they were soon undeceived in some respects. Drunkenness of the white

¹⁹¹ Original Journals: III.

¹⁹² Original Journals: III and IV.

¹⁹³ Vancouver: Journal: II., p. 136.

men was the immediate cause. Consider the following account from Harmon:¹⁹⁴

"Jan. 1. Indians asked if they might remain at the fort and see our Canadians drink. The Canadians began to drink and quarrel; the natives became apprehensive, and hid under the beds; they thought the white people had run mad, and appeared not a little surprised at the change. It was the first time they had ever seen a person intoxicated."

With this it may be well to compare a scene from the pen of Alexander Henry, Junior,¹⁹⁵ which, although east of the mountains, represents the Indian after the fire-water had been introduced and forced upon the Indians:

"April 30. * * * Indians having asked for liquor and promised to decamp and hunt well all summer, I gave them some. Grande Grieule stabbed Capote Rouge; Le Boeuf stabbed his young wife in the arm; Little Shell almost beat out his old mother's brains with a club, and there was terrible fighting among them. I sowed garden seed."

What a blessing had the trader sowed nothing but garden seed that thirtieth of April! There were noble men among the traders who resisted with all their might the urgency of their eastern partners that fire-water be used as the most profitable article of trade. One such was the great geographer David Thompson. He made a law of his own that no alcohol should cross the mountains in his company. He wished to be free from the sad sight of drunkenness and its many evils; but his partners insisted that he must take it, and sent him two kegs. He deliberately loaded these upon the most vicious horse he could find, which vicious horse rubbed his load against rocks and trees until he was rid of it. Then Thompson wrote to his partners, telling them what he had done and promising to do the same with all they might send him.

To many of these generalizations there is one locality that is an exception, the region along the Columbia from The Dalles to the Cascades. Explorers and traders, going in either direction, always noted a change here. The experience of one

¹⁹⁴ Journal: p. 196.

¹⁹⁵ New Light: Vol. I., p. 243.

can be duplicated many times over. Franchere, Henry, Cox, Ross, Irving, Thompson, Lewis and Clark—all have their word of condemnation for the Indians of The Dalles or Cascades. The worst elements among the natives seemed to flock here, till the place became the emporium of vice. The mouth of the Columbia and many other places soon became vice-ridden after the advent of the traders; but The Dalles seems to have been so from the beginning.

This is a composite record, a record of observations by explorers, traders, scientists, surveyors, friars, adventurers, captives, lieutenants, clerks, and sergeants. Some of the expeditions, like those by Perez, Vancouver, and Lewis and Clark, have three or four journalists, which are in substantial accord. They agree in giving the Indian a better bill of character than has usually been manifested by historians, Bancroft possibly excepted. They show that the Indian received the strangers hospitably, that they practiced a simple, unostentatious religion, that they were men of honor, of simple industry, and physical skill, that their government was simple but efficient; and that the home embodied strong attachments, though it exhibited at times improperly apportioned burdens. Indian vices, not necessarily crimes, were such as improvidence, gambling, and occasionally cruel treatment of enemies; but we cannot justly charge the race with the alleged crimes of treachery, drunkenness, nor with atheism nor idolatry.

These conclusions are not radical nor startling; but if they have brought even a modicum of justice to the so-called vanishing race, they are worth while. We all know the story of Sacajawea, the Bird Woman of Lewis and Clark. Two cities of the west have honored her with worthy monuments. That in Portland reveals the unconquerable courage of the west; that in St. Louis portrays patience that endures to the end. But I have often wondered what of the thousands of others as faithful, as patient, as hard working, and as noble as she, who have not had a world renowned expedition to celebrate and commemorate their virtues. If we could but notice these virtues more, might we not take a juster view of the widely heralded vices?

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A TRIBUTE TO JOHN MINTO*

By WILLIAM GALLOWAY.

On this the 157th anniversary of the birth of the great Scotch poet, Robert Burns, I am asked to say something of another poet, writer and Oregon pioneer, Hon. John Minto, who never let the natal day of "Bobby" Burns pass without celebrating the occasion with song and feast.

I knew Mr. Minto intimately from my childhood and can never think of him without associating him with two other noted pioneers of Oregon born under Britain's flag—Dr. John McLoughlin, born in Canada, and Hon. F. X. Matthieu, also a native of Canada. These three pioneers were bosom friends and co-laborers in laying broad and secure the foundation of our young commonwealth. Their remains lie on the banks of the beautiful Willamette they loved so dearly, and no men more loyal to the American flag or American institutions ever breathed the pure air of heaven.

Mr. Minto was a native of England, born in 1822, crossed the plains to Oregon in 1844 and settled near Salem where in 1847 he married Martha Ann Morrison, a pioneer of 1844. Of this worthy pioneer woman it can be truly said she was of the highest stamp of American womanhood and was no man's inferior. Of this happy union there were eight children born, three only surviving, being valued residents of Salem, their native city. Minto was born of the common people, lived the life of the people he so loved and died with a last prayer for the supremacy of the plain people. He often said "We have too many paupers and too many idle rich, but not enough of the great mass of the common people who move the world civilly, morally and financially."

Our constitution written by our pioneer fathers is the most enlightened and progressive of any state constitution in the

*Address delivered at Robert Burns memorial exercises held at Salem, January 25, 1916.

union. Our civil and criminal code, enacted by our early legislatures of which Mr. Minto was often a member and always a valued adviser, has done more to break down sex distinctions under the law than that of any other American state. Those pioneer legislators who had toiled for six or seven months crossing the plains with their wives and children in their ox teams, had learned the value and superiority of true womanhood, hence under the laws of Oregon there is no sex distinction in the possession of property. A woman in Oregon can hold land in her own name, can sue and be sued, can administer upon the estate of her deceased husband, and is the legal guardian of her own children, she pays taxes and has a voice in saying how those taxes shall be expended. In Oregon no sex inequality or sex inferiority is recognized by law, and it can be truthfully said that no man living or dead has done more to incorporate those sacred and inalienable rights of the people into our statutes than our departed and beloved friend, John Minto.

Mr. Minto was a most retiring man who accepted office and position of public trust as a duty imposed upon citizenship. He was eminently qualified and might have filled any office in the gift of the people of his adopted state. He preferred his muse and worked solely in developing the latent resources of his state. He was a pathfinder in searching for highways and means of communication with other sections of this great northwest and the eastern states. I believe Mr. Minto would have preferred the honor of discovering an advantageous mountain passageway for egress from and ingress to the Willamette valley or the improvement of some species of our domestic animals than the honors of a membership in Congress.

In politics Mr. Minto was a Democrat until the Civil War, when he associated himself with the Republican party, though he was never a strict partisan in any sense. He was a member of the Odd Fellows and Elk orders, and when he passed away was the oldest member of those orders in the state.

Mr. Minto was a student to the very last moment of his long and useful life. He read and wrote continuously and has

left his impress upon every page of Oregon history. He loved the birds of the air and the beasts of the forest, yes, everything in nature from the flowers of the valley to the snow-capped peak of Mount Hood. With such a soul and heart it is but natural that the writings of the great Scotch poet Burns should have held first place in his literary affections.

Mr. Minto died at the age of 92 years, beloved by all who knew him or had ever felt the inspiration of his pen and muse.

DID THE RETURNING ASTORIANS USE THE SOUTH PASS?

A Letter of Ramsay Crooks.

Contributed by HARRISON C. DALE.

On June 29 or 30, 1812, a party ostensibly under the command of Robert Stuart, carrying with them letters and papers for Colonel Astor, set out from the recently erected post, Astoria, to return overland to the states. Stuart was accompanied by Ramsay Crooks, Robert McLellan, Benjamin Jones, Francois Le Claire (or Le Clerc), and André Vallée. Following up the Columbia and the Snake, familiar country to them all, for they had traversed it only a few months before, they encountered, August 30, just below Caldron Linn, Joseph Miller and three others, who had been detached from the main party of overland Astorians at Andrew Henry's abandoned post on upper Snake river, the previous October. These men related how, during the winter, they had traveled far to the south and east of Henry's post and then, with the approach of spring, westward again until they had been discovered by Stuart and his party.¹ They now proceeded together, but in a few days Miller's companions abandoned the rest of the party. Miller now undertook to pilot the remainder on their journey eastward, but, as it happened, his services were not particularly valuable. Under his direction, they followed the Snake some distance until they reached a country of great sandy plains. On September 7, they abandoned the Snake and, still under Miller's guidance, wandered in a vague fashion until they reached a river to which they gave his name.¹ This stream they ascended until September 12. They then turned east over a range of

¹ Washington Irving, *Astoria*, Philadelphia, 1841, II, 128.

¹ Bear river according to Irving, *Ibid.*, II, 134, and, with a query, according to Coues, *Henry-Thompson Journals*, New York, 1897, II, 884, note.

hills² and then north along a large branch of Miller's river coming in from the north.³ Up this they traveled, the first day, twenty-five miles, and the next, twenty-one miles, encamping on the margin of a stream flowing north.⁴ Two days more brought them to a stream "running due north which they concluded to be one of the upper branches of Snake River."⁵ This stream they descended about a hundred miles.⁶ Abandoning the river, they struck northeast across the Teton range, forded several streams, including the left fork of the Snake, and, bending their course constantly to the east and southeast, finally, on October 11, found themselves "encamped on a small stream near the foot of Spanish river mountain."⁷ They crossed this elevation on the twelfth, reaching on the other side a stream a hundred and sixty yards wide.⁸ on the seventeenth, they passed two large tributaries of this stream rising in the (Wind River) mountains to the north, and, on the eighteenth, a third tributary.⁹ On the nineteenth and twentieth they continued their course, striking a large Indian trail running southeast which they had crossed on the fifteenth.¹⁰ Continuing in general in a southeasterly direction, they followed this trail during the nineteenth and part of the twentieth, but when they found it turning northeast, they abandoned it, continuing their own way southeast. Next day, the twenty-first, however, they turned north northeast, striking the trail again. That day they made fifteen miles; on the twenty-second they made only eight but they crossed a divide. The twenty-third, they reached a stream running south southeast, which they concluded could not, however, be a tributary of the Missouri.¹¹ Accordingly they turned due east all that day and on the twenty-

² Preuss range (?)

³ Smith's fork or Thomas fork, according to Coues, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Salt river, Coues, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, New York, 1902, I, 209; Irving, *Ibid.*, II, 138.

⁵ Irving, *Ibid.*, II, 137.

⁶ South or left fork of Snake river. 91 miles, Coues, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* 110 miles, Chittenden, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Irving, *Ibid.*, II, 153. The southern spur of the Gros Ventre range near the sources of Green river.

⁸ Green river, Coues, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* Chittenden, *Ibid.*, I, 210.

⁹ The Sandy (?), Irving, *Ibid.*, II, 159.

¹⁰ "Probably the regular highway down Green river valley," Chittenden, *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Irving, *Ibid.*, II, 165.

fourth and twenty-fifth. The next day, the twenty-sixth, however, brought them to the Sweetwater on the Atlantic side of the continental divide.

Elliott Coues in his edition of the Henry-Thompson journals concluded that "the pass they made can be no other than the famous South Pass of the Rocky Mountains."¹² The same year, however, in reviewing a new edition of Irving's *Astoria*, he concluded that they followed a course "very near South Pass—perhaps within twelve or fifteen miles of it, where they wandered off the Indian trail which would have taken them through the pass, and kept about southeast till they had headed the Sweetwater entirely. They then struck east, south of that river, and finally fell on it lower down."¹³ In the light of this, the evidence of Ramsay Crooks, one of the leaders of the expedition, is poignant.

In 1856 the newly formed Republican party nominated John Charles Fremont for President and among the many qualifications for this high office which his supporters urged was his alleged discovery of the South Pass. Ramsay Crooks was an old man at the time, residing in New York City. Vigorously hostile to Fremont politically and sickened by this fatuous distinction of which the Republican papers were boasting, he was moved to write the following letter to Anthony Dudgeon of Detroit.¹⁴ The value of the letter lies not in the proof that the returning Astorians came through the South Pass,—for in all probability Elliott Coues was quite right in concluding that they missed the actual pass,—but rather in the firm conviction of one of the leaders and the last of the party that the returning Astorians were the first to discover this famous gap in the continental divide.

¹² Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Great Northwest*, New York, 1897, II, 884, note.

¹³ *The Nation*, LXV, 499f., New York, 1897. This change of view he was induced to make after a discussion of the problem with Major Chittenden, Coues, *Forty Years a Fur Trader*, New York, 1898, 29, note.

¹⁴ This letter was published in the *Detroit Free Press*, copied by the *Detroit Advertiser*, and recopied from that paper by the *Deseret News* of November 5, 1856, from which I take it.—H. C. D.

WHO DISCOVERED THE SOUTH PASS?

The *Detroit Advertiser* having asserted that Col. Fremont was the discoverer of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, a correspondent of the *Detroit Free Press* denies the truth of statement and the editor of that journal publishes the following letter from Ramsay Crooks, Esq., of New York:

“New York, June 28, 1856.

My Dear Sir:—Just as I was about closing my letter to you of yesterday's date, I received the *Detroit Free Press* of the 21st inst., containing a laudation of Col. John C. Fremont taken from the *Detroit Advertiser* of the previous day and which (if it had been true) is not, in my humble opinion, a very important item in making up the essentials of such a man as should become President of this glorious confederacy.

I, however, presume it is intended to exhibit him as endowed with uncommon intrepidity and daring in exploring so wide a region, surrounded by savages and grizzly bears, thereby proving great firmness of character, so very desirable, but unfortunately so very rare in the head of a great nation.

But even if the Colonel had discovered the ‘South Pass,’ it does not show any more fitness for the exalted station he covets than the numerous beaver hunters and traders who passed and repassed through that noted place full twenty years before Col. Fremont had attained a legal right to vote, and were fully his equals in enterprise, energy, and indomitable perseverance, with this somewhat important difference, that he was backed by the United States treasury, while other explorers had to rely on their own resources.

The perils of the ‘South Pass,’ therefore, confer on the Colonel no greater claim to distinction than the trapper is entitled to, and his party must be pressed very hard when they had to drag in a circumstance so very unimportant as who discovered the ‘South Pass.’

Although the *Free Press* conclusively proves that the Colonel could not be the discoverer of the ‘South Pass,’ the details are not accurate and in order that history (if it ever gets there) may be correctly vindicated, I will tell you how it was.

Mr. David Stuart sailed from this port in 1810 for the Columbia River on board the ship 'Tonquin' with a number of Mr. Astor's associates in the 'Pacific Fur Company,' and after the breaking up of the company in 1814, he returned through the Northwest Company's territories to Montreal, far to the north of the 'South Pass,' which he never saw.

In 1811, the overland party of Mr. Astor's expedition, under the command of Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, of Trenton, New Jersey, although numbering sixty well armed men, found the Indians so very troublesome in the country of the Yellowstone River, that the party of seven persons who left Astoria toward the end of June, 1812, considering it dangerous to pass again by the route of 1811, turned toward the southeast as soon as they had crossed the main chain of the Rocky Mountains, and, after several days' journey, came through the celebrated 'South Pass' in the month of November, 1812.

Pursuing from thence an easterly course, they fell upon the River Platte of the Missouri, where they passed the winter and reached St. Louis in April, 1813.

The seven persons forming the party were Robert McClelland of Hagerstown, who, with the celebrated Captain Wells, was captain of spies under General Wayne in his famous Indian campaign, Joseph Miller of Baltimore, for several years an officer of the U. S. army, Robert Stuart, a citizen of Detroit, Benjamin Jones, of Missouri, who acted as huntsman of the party, Francois LeClaire, a halfbreed, and Adré Valée, a Canadian *voyageur*, and Ramsay Crooks, who is the only survivor of this small band of adventurers.

I am very sincerely yours,

RAMSAY CROOKS.

Anthony Dudgeon, Esq., Detroit, Michigan."

DOCUMENT

A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY CONTRACT¹

AN AGREEMENT, made this First day of March in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty, between John Macphail in the Parish of Loch, in the County of Ross in Scotland, of the one Part, and The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, Trading into Hudson's Bay, by William Fraser Tolmie,² their agent, of the other Part, as follows:

The said John Macphail hereby contracts and agrees to enter into the Service & Employment of the said Company in North America in the capacity of Shepherd & Cattleherd and that he will embark when thereunto required on board such Ship or Vessel, as shall be appointed by or on behalf of the said Company and proceed to.....and for the Term of one years to be computed from the said Embarkation and for such further time as hereinafter mentioned and faithfully serve the said Company as their hired Servant in the capacity of Shepherd and Cattleherd and devote the whole of his time and labour in their Service and for their sole benefit, and that he will do his duty as such and perform all such work and service by day or by night for the said Company as he shall be required to do and obey all the orders which he shall receive from the Governors of the Company in North America or other their Officers or Agents for the time being. And that he will with courage and fidelity in his said station, in the said Service defend the property of the said Company and their Factories and Territories and will not absent himself from the said service nor engage or be concerned in any Trade or Employment whatsoever except for the benefit of the said Company and according to their Orders—And that all Goods

¹ The original agreement is among the Fort Nesqually papers now in the possession of Mr. C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, Washington, who has kindly permitted this copy to be made.—T. C. E.

² Dr. William Fraser Tolmie (Inverness, Scotland, Feb. 3, 1812; Victoria, B. C., Dec. 8, 1886) after two years' absence in England and Scotland took charge of the H. B. Co. Fort Nesqually on July 5, 1843 (succeeding Mr. Angus McDonald) and remained there until July, 1859, when he was transferred to Victoria, B. C. Dr. Tolmie in 1846 represented Lewis County in the Legislature of the Provisional Government of Oregon.—T. C. E.

obtained by Barter with the Indians or otherwise which shall come to the hands or possession of the said John Macphail shall be held by him for the said Company only, and shall be duly delivered up to the said Governors or other Officers at their Factory or Trading post without any waste, spoil, or injury thereto. And in case of any wilful neglect or default herein he shall make good to the said Company all such loss or damage as they shall sustain thereby to be deducted out of his wages. And that the said John Macphail will faithfully obey all laws, orders, and regulations, established or made by the said Company for the good government of their Settlements and Territories—And at all times during the residence of the said.....in North America, he will defend the rights and privileges of the said Company and aid and support their Officers and Agents to the utmost of his power—and the said John Macphail further engages and agrees that in case he shall omit to give notice to the Governor or Officers of the said Company in North America one year or upwards before the expiration of the said Term of One Years of his intention to quit their service and return to Europe, then that he hereby promises and engages to remain one year longer & also until the next Ship in the Service of the said Company shall sail from thence to Europe as their hired servant in North America upon the like terms as are contained in this Contract—And the said.....also engages and agrees that in case the said Company shall not have any ship which will sail from North America for Europe immediately after the expiration of the said term of One years or of such further term as hereinbefore mentioned then he hereby promises and engages to remain in the Service as a hired Servant of the said Company in North America until the next Ship of the said Company or some Ship provided by them shall sail from thence to Europe upon the like terms as are contained in this Contract provided always that the said John Macphail further agrees to keep watch & ward and perform such other work in the navigation of the Ship of the said Company in which he shall be embarked on the outward and homeward voyages as he shall be required to perform by the Commanding Officer of the said Vessel.

And the said William Fraser Tolmie on behalf of the said Company hereby engages that upon condition of the due and faithful service of the said John Macphail in like manner as aforesaid but not otherwise the said John Macphail shall re-

ceive from the said Company after the rate of Forty-five Pounds Sterling per annum to commence from the 1st day of March, 1850, as aforesaid, and up to the day of his embarkation from thence to Europe in one of the Ships of the said Company's Service or in any Ship provided by them.

Provided always, and it is hereby expressly agreed between the said parties thereto, that it shall be lawful for the Governor or Governors or other Officers of the said Company in North America at any time during the said term of One years or such additional term as aforesaid to dismiss the said John Macphail from their Service and direct his return from thence to Europe in one of the Ships in their employment or in some ship provided by them and in such case his wages are to cease from the day of his embarkation for Europe.—And further that in case the said John Macphail shall at any time during this Contract desert the Service of the said Company or otherwise neglect or refuse duly to discharge his duty as such hired Servant as aforesaid then he shall forfeit and lose all his wages for the recovery whereof there shall be no relief either in Law or in Equity.

In Witness whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands.

WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE.

his

JOHN X MACPHAIL.

mark

Signed in the presence of:

ADAM BENSTON.

(10 Decmr 1845)

John Macphail to have as Rations, 1 lb. Tea, 8 lbs. Sugar, 40 lbs. Flour, 84 lbs. Beef, per month.

To have permission to visit Vancouver during summer '50 after woolpacking is completed and then if required to take sheep to Vancouver.....

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE
KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Clatsop Plains, Clatsop County, Ore., July 23, 1847.

Dear Brother Hill:

Your favors of October 26th and November 13th were received June the 20th, and read with great pleasure, they being the first communications I have received from your pen since I left Rock Island, Ill., although I have written about half a quire of paper to you. One letter, however, of yours reached Oregon City; but our letters are all forwarded by private conveyance, and it was lost. It was the one which came on board the Brig Henry, Captain Kilburn, from Newberryport.¹²⁶ The pamphlets and papers, which were sent on board that ship, were also lost. But Brother Johnson received his letter sent at the same time. The boxes of goods which you forwarded on board the Bark Whiton, Captain Geleston,¹²⁷ will probably be here in two or three weeks, and will be very gladly received, as we are brought to rather straitened circumstances. In view of the small number of inhabitants at Astoria and the difficulty of sustaining my family there, we moved to these plains (Clatsop) about the first of May last. This I did by the advice of our Baptist friends in the Territory. Yet here we are compelled to devote most of the week providing the bread that perishes. Yet I think our position is as favorable to the promotion of the cause of truth as any I could have taken in Oregon after the one which Brother Johnson occupies. The future commerce of the country must pass within a few miles of us, and we feel strongly confident that a port of entry will be established near the mouth of this majestic Columbia, and other public works must necessarily go forward in our county as soon as we have a territorial government organized by the United States Congress. At present we have but a small population in this county. In view of the time being so near at hand when this must probably become a command-

¹²⁶ This was William K. Kilborn. The "Henry" is a familiar figure in Oregon history of this time. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 414, 679-80; II: 24, 43, 48.

¹²⁷ Galston, not Geleston. For the return voyage of the "Whiton" see Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 620.

ing point, I think you and the Board would approve of my course, were you in Oregon to see and judge for me. I am building a temporary log cabin this summer, which, together with raising my provisions, confines me at home. Yet I intend by the help of God to spend four or five weeks in the Willamette Valley the coming fall. When once we get into our house, I could probably support my family with two hundred dollars a year, with the industry of the family and what I should receive from the people, and be able to devote myself entirely to the ministry of the Word, should there be any way opened whereby you can with certainty make remittances, principally in articles of clothing and furniture such as will be indispensable to our comfort. We trust the time is near when the present difficulties under which we labor will be obviated by the establishing of a regular mail route across the mountains and by a frequent communication by shipping from this place to New York and other Atlantic ports. I trust before this the terms of a permanent peace are negotiated between our nation and Mexico. O when will the adorable Prince of Peace forever terminate the horrors of war! I trust that tolerance to the gospel will be gained to all the country which our nation may acquire, but there is efficacy in our gospel to gain this victory at incomparably less expense, both of money and sufferings.

It is greatly to be regretted that we are situated so far from your relief that we are obliged to leave our appropriate calling to procure our daily bread, and I have often asked the question why our hands must be bound, when there is so much to do for the cause of our Redeemer in Oregon. It is not because the people refuse to hear the gospel from our lips; and God is my witness that it is not because I delight in secular pursuits, at least while on every hand we see so much need of the undivided, unremitted labors of a devoted gospel ministry. But while we lie in this situation, other denominations of Christians are beginning to lay a foundation for future influence, and among them the Roman Catholics are the most numerous and the best sustained by far.

We are in daily expectation of the arrival of a vessel freighted with Roman missionaries, priests, teachers, nuns and missionary funds to the amount, it is said, of \$130,000 to be expended in Oregon. Can we, must we labor five or six days with our hands and then, when the Sabbath returns, go worn down in body (and shall I say in spirit) and but half prepared to the place where God is to be publicly worshipped and there meet the congregations and proclaim to them the words of Eternal Life? But God is our helper, and His promise does not fail. Even in these trying circumstances we often feel an assurance of the Divine presence in the little groups to which we preach.

You request me to be specific in making my reports according to the instructions contained in our appointments. I must be honest in this matter. For the last six months my labors have been principally confined to the Sabbath; my visits of a pastoral kind have been few. In our county we have not sustained a prayer-meeting; but we are beginning to make an effort to sustain the monthly concert. On our removal to these plains, we immediately organized a Sabbath school and Bible class in connection with the Presbyterians. There are about twenty-five Sabbath school children and I have a Bible class of about ten middle-aged and young men. Mrs. Fisher and our daughter have each a class. We have a small library of about thirty volumes and expect to obtain an addition from books sent out by the Massachusetts S. S. Society. We have made this temporary arrangement and addressed the corresponding secretary of the A. S. S. Union, soliciting a donation of books. Our Sabbath exercises are conducted as follows: Preaching at 11 o'clock A. M.; intermission; Sunday school, after which we spend about an hour in singing.

Our plains extend from the mouth of the Columbia River along the beach south about fifteen miles, and, for the sake of our Sabbath school, we have deemed it expedient to meet and preach with the Presbyterians, the Presbyterian minister

occupying one Sabbath and I the next, alternately.¹²⁸ I preached a few Sabbaths at 5 P. M. in the south part of the plains, but it was soon found that a want of time compelled us to abandon the evening preaching.

Our congregations are about fifty, on an average. We have not yet taken any measures to organize a Baptist church in this place, there being no male members but myself, yet we think we shall do something on that subject this season. We meet in a little log school house, about 16 feet square, in which my daughter teaches a small day school of about 15 children. I have obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge in the form in which you published it,¹²⁹ but the frequent instances of violation of the laws by introducing ardent spirits among the Indians and selling to the Whites without license, induced the settlers to call a meeting, which resulted in every man but two or three signing a pledge that we would hold our persons and property in readiness to prevent the unlawful introduction and sale of intoxicating spirits into our county. Little is drunk in the county except by the Indians and a few Whites who are as regardless of principle as the savages themselves. Perhaps I can say with certainty that for the last four weeks we have had more than usual attention to the preaching of the Word, although we learn of no instances of hopeful conversion. We feel a strong assurance that a great change externally has taken place among the inhabitants of these plains within the last six months. A general desire to maintain good order in society is apparent.

The people generally have not been accustomed to aid in the support of the gospel, and as yet they have everything to do to open their farms and provide their families with clothing, which would be regarded very indifferent, even on the frontier territories east of the mountains. I find neigh-

¹²⁸ This Presbyterian minister was probably Lewis Thompson, a native of Kentucky, who came to the Pacific Coast in 1846 and settled on Clatsop Plains. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II: 680.

¹²⁹ Temperance sentiment was strong in early Oregon. There was a prohibition law from 1844 to 1846 and a large proportion of the population was in favor of prohibition even after there was no law on the statute book to that effect. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 281, 437, 537-9; II: 37.

bors kind, but it will require years to place them in even comfortable circumstances. Consequently we cannot expect much support immediately from the people. We have one sister who has furnished us with more than half our butter this summer. The people help me some in building my house.

On the subject of education our citizens manifest a very laudable spirit. We should have erected a school house suitable for a school and meeting house this summer, but for the extreme pressure of business to prepare for the coming summer.

July 26—I have just learned that the Brutus is to leave the first favorable wind and Elder Geo. Gary¹³⁰ is to return to New York on board with his wife. I therefore have but a few minutes more to write, and much to write. I must therefore close this package in a few minutes and carry them ten miles, deliver today and return.

I have several times stated to you the sum with which we could be sustained by taxing every power of economy, and even parsimony, without our reach. But were we to be liberated to devote ourselves as freely to the ministry as our brethren in New England and New York, with all their aid of deacons, deaconesses and pious, devoted lay members, it would require a sum not less than from \$400 to \$600 per year. And why should we not give ourselves wholly to the work? Is it because the labors of a missionary in Oregon are less important than those of a local pastor in the churches at home? Your Board and the churches wish to hear the most cheering news of our success as ministers. You wish our pens ably wielded in the description of the country as it relates to its geography, physical resources, natural history, manners and customs of the people, and in short everything which will contribute to scatter light and awaken an interest on the subject of our new territory, and all this is right. But how can this be done by men loaded with secular cares and worn by daily labor to procure what would be a poor subsistence

¹³⁰ Rev. George Gary came to Oregon in 1844 and was superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Oregon, 1844-7. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 39, 218; II: 677.

in the States? If I have one object for which I desire to live more than all others, it is to see the cause for which Christ impoverished himself making the people of Oregon rich. That this may be done, we must labor in every moral department which relates to the well being of a new republic where vice rolls in like the waves of the ocean.

I hope to be able to write a few more sheets which will reach Elder Gary at the Sandwich Islands.

I wish you to forward me most of the amount appropriated for my support in such articles of clothing as we shall order, as far as practicable. A few dollars in money seem indispensable, perhaps twenty, which you will probably send in gold or silver in the box of goods you send. Hereafter direct all boxes and packages for me to Astoria.

Please send us the following articles, as far as practicable and in accordance with the directions of the Board:

Two bolts of good common sheeting, unbleached.

Twelve yards of good bed ticking.

Two webs of good common calico, dark colored.

Twenty yards of linsey for children's winter dresses.

Two pairs of women's calfskin shoes, suitable for an Oregon winter, no. 4.

Two pairs of good slippers, no. 4.

Two pairs of stout calfskin shoes, men's, no. 9, suitable for winter rains.

Two pairs of boys' shoes, stout, nos. 3 and 4.

Two pairs girls' shoes, nos. 1 and 2.

Two pairs of girls' shoes, nos. 12 and 13, little children's numbers.

Twenty or twenty-five yards of Kentucky Janes.

One dark shawl of worsted, or some kind of woolen texture, adapting the price somewhat to our income.

One dress coat black cloth; I think no doubt that one which would fit you will fit me, but guard against expenses,¹³¹

¹³¹ It was the frequent custom of the author, in ordering from the East, to specify that the clothes should fit Rev. Benjamin Hill, as the two were about the same size.

let it be substantial, but it may be much coarser than would be called for in your city.

Ten yards of satinet.

One dollar's worth of good spool thread.

One card of shirt buttons.

Hooks and eyes, pins, sewing needles.

Two fine combs.

50 cents' worth of tape, sewing silk, pants and vest buttons.

1 pair of cheap fire shovel and tongs.

1 pair of plain andirons.

One cheap set of teacups and saucers.

Six common dining plates, four bowls.

One spider, called skillet in the West, for frying meat.

One pair of silver set spectacles.

15 or 20 pounds of coffee.

One two-quart pitcher, plain.

Two cheap linen table cloths, white.

Give my thanks to Br. Everts for the Bible Manual. Br. Johnson has received his.

I am now on board the Brutus and in great haste. Elder Gary has engaged to deliver these sheets in person and will probably give you some interesting descriptions of the state of things generally in Oregon.

I will just say that I have received a letter from a Brother Ross,¹³² a member of Br. Evert's church, who is in California. He is engaged in a Sabbath school at San Francisco Bay, and strongly solicits ministerial aid. From all the information I can receive, I am of the opinion that a faithful missionary or two should be sent to California immediately on the receipt of the intelligence that it is added to the United States. I am,

Yours as ever,

EZRA FISHER.

¹³² This was Charles L. Ross, who came by sea to California in 1847. He was prominent in San Francisco for a number of years as a merchant, land owner, and public-spirited man. Bancroft, *Hist. of Cal.* V: 704.

Missionary at the mouth of the Columbia River.

Should you have opportunity to forward any boxes or packages to the Islands and not directly to this place, you can direct to me to the care of E. O. Hall, Financier for the A. B. C. F. Missions at Honolulu, Oahu, and pay the freight and they will probably reach me in safety.

Received Jan. 17, 1848.

Clatsop Plains, Oregon, Oct. 20th, 1847.

Rev. and Dear Br. Hill:

The Bark Whiton being about to sail for N. Y. in a day or two, I take this opportunity to address you a line, which I trust will reach you in three months, as Captain Gelston proposes crossing the Isthmus and sending his ship around the Cape.

The two boxes of goods which you forwarded me on the Whiton were duly received, and the accompanying letters. I have delivered half the Bibles and Testaments, pamphlets and periodicals, and half of the goods which you forwarded to me, without my order, to Br. Johnson.

The Bibles, Testaments, periodicals and reports were most gladly received and read with eagerness not only by myself and family, but by the surrounding community. They seemed to transport us to the shores of civilization and the regions of Christian enterprise, after years of seclusion. I carry with me a few tracts and religious periodicals each Sabbath, and give away the tracts and request the periodicals to be returned for further circulation. I give away no tract without enjoining upon the receiver the importance of reading it.

Your letter of January 19th and 24th was received last week, but the periodicals are still behind; probably lost. I have just returned from a tour of four weeks in the Willamette Valley. I found rather an interesting state of things in Tualatin Plains. A gradual work of grace has been in progress in those plains since last June. Since last January, Brother Vincent Snelling has baptized fifteen into the fellowship of the church in that place, two of whom were the fruits of a series

of meetings held last year during my residence there. Some three or four more will be baptized next month. Religious interests are wearing a more favorable appearance on Yam Hill River and on the Rickreal. Two have been added to the former church and others will probably unite soon with each of the above named churches. The Methodists and Congregationalists in the Willamette Valley have received some accessions. The Campbellites are industriously engaged in making proselytes. We have no unusual interest in this place; our congregations are good for the number of people in the community and a marked attention is given to the preaching of the Word. O that God would give me more of the spirit of my station! We have not yet constituted a church in this place, and shall probably delay organizing until spring, unless we should see that the time has come to arise and build before that time. We are having some accessions to our population on the coast by the present emigration now arriving, and somewhat expect one or more Baptist families to settle with us.

Since the first of last August I have labored about half of the time directly in the appropriate duties of the ministry, and the remainder of the time in providing for the immediate wants of my family; preached 13 sermons; delivered two lectures; attended one prayer-meeting; one covenant meeting; visited religiously 20 families and 12 individuals; visited no common schools; baptized none; obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge; neither assisted at the organization of a church nor the ordination of a minister; have taught regularly a Bible class of 10 scholars, except four Sabbaths of my absence; distributed about 500 pages of tracts, 10 Bibles and 20 Testaments; traveled 450 miles to and from my appointments; received no person either by letter or experience; no cases of conversion in the field of my labor; no young men preparing for the ministry. The monthly concert is not sustained in Oregon. My people have paid nothing for missions, Bible societies or other societies; for my support \$5. Connected with my labors is one Sunday school conducted by Baptists and Presbyterians; 30 scholars and six teachers, two

of whom are Baptists; and about 40 volumes in our library. As soon as the opening of spring we design establishing our preaching meetings and Sabbath school separate.

I have repeatedly explained to you the reason of fixing my location at the mouth of the Columbia at so early a date in the history of the country. It is simply from its local importance and not because we have a large population in our vicinity at present. But our population is increasing gradually and are among the most intelligent and enterprising of Oregon, and I am greatly mistaken if our population and enterprise do not rapidly increase after next summer. I think the commercial mart of our territory must be at Astoria, or near the mouth of the Columbia. My present plan of operation is to spend the rainy season in this vicinity and, during the best part of the year, for traveling and collecting congregations, spend two or three months in traveling and preaching in the Willamette Valley till they are better supplied with preachers and, if time permits, to visit Pugets Sound during the summer and, should our brethren settle there, which they probably will the coming season, raise an interest there, with the blessing of Him without whom we can do nothing. This point and the Sound must become the great commercial points in Oregon. We have now four Baptist ministers in the territory, besides Br. Johnson and myself, who will probably settle in the Willamette Valley above Oregon City¹³³ and, although they have not enjoyed great advantages, they will probably be able to preach to the churches now formed and sustain the religious interests, with the assistance which Br. J. and myself can render them, till other ministers shall arrive, if God goes with them. A large portion of our Baptist members are from the upper part of Missouri and have not been much accustomed to exercise themselves in Christian enterprises, consequently it is too much to expect that they immediately engage in Sabbath schools and other benevolent efforts with the facility and

¹³³ There are records of only three ministers—Rev. Vincent Snelling, Wm. Porter, and Richard Miller—besides the author and Mr. Johnson. The fourth was possibly James Bond, who was licensed but not ordained. *Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore.* I: 43, 58, 59. *Minutes of Willamette Bap. Assn. of Oregon*, for 1848.

perseverance of men trained from their youth in this kind of work. Besides, many of them were just able to raise means sufficient to bring their families across the mountains and they have everything to do to give their families a competent living. Yet we have some happy exceptions; may God greatly multiply this class. We have fixed upon the third week in next June to organize an association and trust by that time we shall have seven or eight churches to go into that organization. I think Br. Vincent Snelling ought to receive an appointment with a salary of \$100 or \$150. He is a faithful, worthy brother. I informed him that it would be expected that the churches which he supplied would request the Home Missionary Society to assist them in sustaining him and specify the amount they were able to do. He manifested a reluctance to lay the subject before the churches, lest it might arouse some prejudice, as the churches were not altogether missionary in their views. I replied that I should be unwilling to constitute churches which would be likely to excommunicate me for carrying out the great principles of the gospel plan of salvation. Yet I thought he was unnecessarily timid, and I should apprehend no unpleasant consequences in presenting the subject in a mild and affectionate manner. I leave the subject with your Board, hoping on the whole that Br. Snelling may receive your patronage. I can assure you he is a zealous, worthy brother.

As it relates to California, I think our Board should spare no time in finding a judicious, practical preacher to locate at the most favorable point on San Francisco Bay. Our whaling vessels and merchant and war ships are almost constantly entering and leaving that Bay and, should our Government retain Upper California, there must be places of importance immediately springing up on that spacious harbor. Br. Ross, a member of Br. Evart's church of your city, is there, and perhaps he has already applied to you for a minister.

Baptist peculiarities must be vindicated in Oregon. Our Pedo-baptist and Campbellite neighbors are mooted the subject of baptism, and especially of communion. May we have

grace to present these subjects as gospel truths in the love of the gospel of the Blessed Saviour.

Brother Johnson received a letter from you informing us that the Board had voted to increase our salaries to \$200 each, which I hope will enable us to give ourselves entirely to the work, after three or four weeks which must be spent, on my part, in rendering my house tolerable for the winter.

I wrote you in July by Elder Gary, on his return to New York. (He will probably deliver the package in person.) In those letters I ordered you to forward me some articles of clothing and other articles. Should you receive this in season to forward a few other articles with the box before ordered, you will please put up twelve yards of Canton flannel, fifteen yards of red woolen flannel, six or eight pounds of saleratus or pearlash—put it up in a box or jar; four pounds of candle wicking; a tin reflector for baking bread; a hat, cheap, substantial, 23½ inches around the outside under the band; one set of Fuller's works bound in sheep.¹³⁴ I very much need a commentary of the Bible, having disposed of both of mine before leaving the States on account of the transportation across the mountains, but I do not know but I shall make my orders exceed my income. Put up also one additional web of substantial dark calico. We hope the Baptist Publication Society will forward us a few of their publications, such as exhibit the peculiarities of the denomination and others of a devotional character, such as memoirs of eminent Christians, as a donation, if they can. The people here need religious reading. Probably some books of the above named character might be sold. Can you not obtain and forward us more tracts, as our stock will be exhausted before we shall get returns from this?

My family are in good health. Indeed, we have had no sickness on the coast with the whites since the settlement of the country. Providence has given us one of the most salubri-

¹³⁴ The *works* of Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), a famous Baptist (English) theologian. McClintock and Strong, *Cyc. of Bibl. Theol. and Eccl. Lit.* III: 692. The edition asked for was probably that published in Philadelphia, edited by Joseph Belcher. O. A. Roobach, *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 209.

ous climes on earth. No doubt the whole territory is more healthy than any portion of the United States of the same extent of territory. Although we have small districts contiguous to inundated lands somewhat subject to bilious attacks in the summer, yet no New Englander, or even any person east of the Allegheny Mountains, has anything to lose in point of health in emigrating to Oregon.

I design spending some time next winter in giving you a general description of the country—its physical resources, the manners and customs of the people and the improvements of the country in manufactures and commerce. At present, however, I will only repeat substantially what I have more than once written to my friends in the State, that, although the face of the country below the Cascade range of mountains is generally broken, except in the valleys of the rivers, yet I think there is less waste land than is found in the same extent of country in New England, and the soil will not suffer in comparison with that of New York, and portions of this district probably equal the finest parts of the great Western valley. Almost all our hill and mountain lands are rich and almost entirely free from stone and it is generally believed that the timbered land will produce better than the prairies when once it is cleared. The timber, although of an enormous growth, is generally so filled with balsam or pitch than when green it is fallen by fire and, with comparatively little chopping or piling, the fire consumes it, so that land may be cleared fit for the plough as easily in Oregon as in New York.

As far as my observation has extended, the lands bordering upon the coast possess the richest, deepest soil and produce the most abundantly where they are sufficiently level to be cultivated. Few countries can be found in the world which will produce vegetables in greater abundance, or of a more delicious flavor, than the lands on the coast of Oregon so far as they have been tested. Although little is known in the state of Oregon except the far-famed Willamette Valley, yet it is my opinion that the soil on the coast, wherever it is sufficiently level for cultivation, will by far surpass that val-

ley in producing every kind of vegetable, and perhaps will not be inferior to it in the growth of wheat. Oats and barley flourish remarkably well on the poorest lands on the coast. The whole coast country will undoubtedly become one of the finest countries in the world for rearing cattle, horses and sheep, when once its forests are removed and the grasses are introduced. We only want our coast to be occupied with the industrious, enterprising farmers of N. Y. and N. England to make it one of the most desirable countries in the world. The whole coast region is so tempered with ocean spray and timely showers during the whole of the summer months that it is almost entirely exempt from the severe droughts to which the country is so much subject east of the Coast range of mountains.

The general impression has been made abroad that there is little good land susceptible of settlement near the sea board. But I think it will be found that there is about as much good land suited to farming purposes in the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia as there is in the vicinity of the Hudson River. And bordering Pugets Sound, including Whitby's and other islands, are many fine tracts of very rich land well adapted to agricultural purposes. And perhaps a very considerable tract of the finest, richest land in Oregon may be found on the coast between the mouth of the Umpqua River and the southern boundary of the Territory. Indeed, I am informed by those who have traveled the coast that there is not a stream putting into the ocean south of the mouth of the Columbia but affords some good land for settlement.

I have given you these brief facts, hoping and praying that they may come under the eye of many a pious brother, and sister, too, whose spirit may be moved to come over and labor with us in the glorious work of giving a moral and religious character to the thousands of our own countrymen who now people Oregon and the millions who will soon people the Pacific shores. Cannot some of our excellent deacons and praying, working, young married brothers and sisters be induced to come and become our fellow laborers in this delight-

ful clime and in this most delightful and important work? Is not the great Head of the church now pressing the question to the very heart of our members of our lay brethren? Will they not go and plant the seed and cultivate the tender plants in the garden of the Lord? How important the position in relation to half the globe, and that yet unevangelized! How important the position in relation to the commercial world, if the half is even realized which our national government anticipates! Will not many of our praying brethren heed the call and come and work with us in the morning of our existence in Oregon? Everything is to be done, if this part of the country is to be saved from the reign of idolatry, the tyranny of skepticism and the dominion of the Beast. I must close this and hasten to write a few lines to our private friends.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—We shall establish the monthly concert in these plains next month. Romans are sparing no pains to secure the influence and wealth of Oregon to their church; their priests are all Jesuits. May all our brethren in the States pray for God's blessings to rest on our labours. Will you not use your influence in encouraging our lay brethren to come and settle with us? I can almost assure them that they will never regret the sacrifice they must make at the first, if they will first count the cost, in the fear of the Lord, and wait on Him, after their arrival, before they get disheartened. Many on their arrival, seeing things so new and different from the more improved parts of the country they have left, become soon dissatisfied, before they have tried a winter and a summer in Oregon. But few, very few, remain dissatisfied more than six or eight months. When once they feel the bracing, salubrious atmosphere of the summer and see the generous returns for their labor, they soon form a strong attachment to the country, and nothing but the want of improved society and a love of relatives and friends left behind will induce them to look back with desire to the land of their

youth. These inconveniences must be remedied by the habitual efforts of every philanthropist and Christian.

Yours truly, E. F.

Received May 6, 1848.

October 31, 1847.

Dear Br. Hill:

We are all in health. Winter rains are just commencing. Crop of wheat in the upper country is light by means of an unusually dry summer, but on the coast all crops are usually good, droughts seldom affecting the coast seriously. The present immigration is numerous, the number of wagons being generally estimated at about 1,000, and about 4,000 souls.¹³⁵ Perhaps they have had more than a usual share of sickness and suffering on the road. Hundreds are yet on the last part of the journey. More than 1,200 or 1,500 wagons should never attempt to cross the mountains in one year, and they should not be incumbered with more loose cattle than is necessary for ample teams and milch cows. Sheep stand the journey best of all domestic animals and are the most useful when here. Emigrants from the eastern and middle states should come by water, if they can submit to a long sea voyage. Please enter the enclosed letters in the post office immediately upon reception of this. I send you a package of three sheets, by Captain Gelston, containing my report from August first. Shall spend some time during the rainy season in writing you.

Our general prospects in Oregon are brightening. Commerce is increasing rapidly and a general impulse is given to every branch of business. We earnestly hope the U. S. Congress will provide for us a government the coming session.¹³⁶ I trust your Board will provide for California immediately on the U. S. securing that territory to her jurisdiction. A colporter preacher jointly sustained by the A. Bapt. Publication Society and the H. Mission Board, with a supply of books and tracts, would be an invaluable accession to Oregon. I

¹³⁵ Bancroft says the number of persons was between 4000 and 5000. *Hist. of Ore.* I: 623.

¹³⁶ Oregon was given a territorial government in 1848.

have written Br. Malcom on that subject. Oregon is in perishing need of this very kind of instrumentality. Will not our eastern Baptists give this Ter. the first colporter, with his supply of books adapted to every age and condition of man in the formation of a moral and religious character? You may think me enthusiastic. Well, be it so, I am quite sure you could not be less so, were you here to see and feel our wants as I do. We must have the Psalmist¹³⁷ here; a few dozen would sell and these would prepare the way for hundreds more.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received May 6, 1848.

Clatsop Plains, March the 8th, 1848.

Dear Br. Hill:

The last communications I received from you were under date of October 2nd and 31st and Nov. 13th, 1846, per Bark Whiton, and I reported by the same bark up to November 1st, 1847. I also saw a letter to Br. Johnson, which I think was brought through by the immigration of 1847, in which was stated the fact that the Executive Board had voted to increase our salary to \$200 each, which fact I acknowledged in my last. The Bibles and Testaments appropriated by the City Bible Society have been of essential service in supplying the destitute and relieving the wants of our Sabbath schools and Bible class. The tracts have been earnestly sought and read with much interest, both by parents and children, and no doubt they have been blessed of God as an efficient auxiliary to the ministry of the Word and Sabbath school instruction. My portion of this stock of tracts is more than half gone and I have promised Brother Vincent Snelling some. By the blessing of the All Wise, I propose spending about two months of the approaching summer in the Willamette Valley. I am therefore using them sparingly that I may take a package along with me. I earnestly hope you will not fail to have more forwarded,

¹³⁷ The "Psalmist" was a Baptist Hymnal by Baron Stow and S. F. Smith. McClintock and Strong, *Cyc. of Bibl. Theol. and Eccl. Lit.* VIII, 745.

at least yearly. I made a feeble appeal to the Corresponding Sec. A. B. P. Society in behalf of books, both for Sab. schools and the ministry, and also recommended the appointment of a colporter for Oregon who should be a preacher. I trust that appeal will be heeded and call forth a hearty response, not simply from that society, but from the churches. After last writing, I found a note from you on the margin of a pamphlet informing me for the first time of my being made a life member of the A. and F. Bible Society. Assure Br. Allen that it would afford me great pleasure to receive a line from him informing me through what medium my name has been enrolled in that list of worthy names which have contributed so much to publish that blessed Book unadulterated for the nations of the earth. The Bible is above all price. May God grant the unknown donor a disciple's reward and bless the offering to the everlasting joy of many souls. As for myself, I am utterly unworthy this token of respect. As I expect to forward this by the return party who will probably leave early next month, and it is somewhat uncertain whether it will reach you, I must defer writing much that would be interesting and proceed to state a few of the most important facts.

I send you herein a report of my labor from the first of Nov. last up to the present date. My labors have been confined to Clatsop County. Since my last report I have thought best to divide my labors on the Sabbath. Accordingly I preach one Sabbath at my own house (a log cabin 18 feet by 24) in the south half of these plains, and the alternate one in the north half of the plains. I have labored nineteen weeks, but part of my time I am compelled to devote to the immediate wants of my family. I preached 20 sermons, delivered no lectures, attended four prayer meetings and two religious conferences preparatory to the constitution of a church. Visited religiously forty families and persons, two common schools. Baptized none. Obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge. Have assisted in organizing no church nor the ordination of any minister. Traveled 147 miles to and from my appointments. None received by letter, none by experience and

we know of no cases of conversion. We have one young married brother licensed to preach by a church in Iowa.¹³⁸ The monthly concert of prayer is observed at my house. My people have paid nothing for missions, Foreign, Home or Domestic. Nothing for the Bible cause. Publication Soc. nothing. Education Soc. nothing. For my salary fourteen dollars. Connected with my station are two Sunday schools, 42 scholars and ten teachers and, in one school, 100 volumes recently donated by a friend, in the other 20 volumes. I have also a Bible class with eight pupils. We have commenced building a hewed log house for a school and meeting house, 18 feet by 24, and will be able to use it as a place of worship within six or eight weeks. This may appear to your Board too trifling and unimportant to be named in a report, but, could you experience all the privations of a new country as I am doing, you would look upon this effort as a valuable acquisition to our spiritual comforts and an important monument to the progress of civilization within the deafening roar of the Pacific's surf. I have regarded it an object so desirable to be accomplished that I have already devoted more than two weeks' time in laborious efforts through rain and shine in this work. May God be graciously pleased to make it a nursery of science, a fountain of morals, a birthplace of souls and a spiritual lighthouse to guide the pilgrims to the haven of rest. We have appointed the 13th and the 19th of the present month to meet for the constitution of a church in the plains and have invited our sister churches to send us their delegates to sit in council with us on the occasion. We hope a foundation is being laid here for future lasting usefulness. God only knows. Our congregations have been usually good through the entire winter and Sabbath schools well attended and, although we can record no signal display of Divine grace, our apparent changes seem to indicate the Divine favor. I have seldom felt a deeper sense of the responsibility of the ministry and the importance of establishing correct moral and religious principles in a new

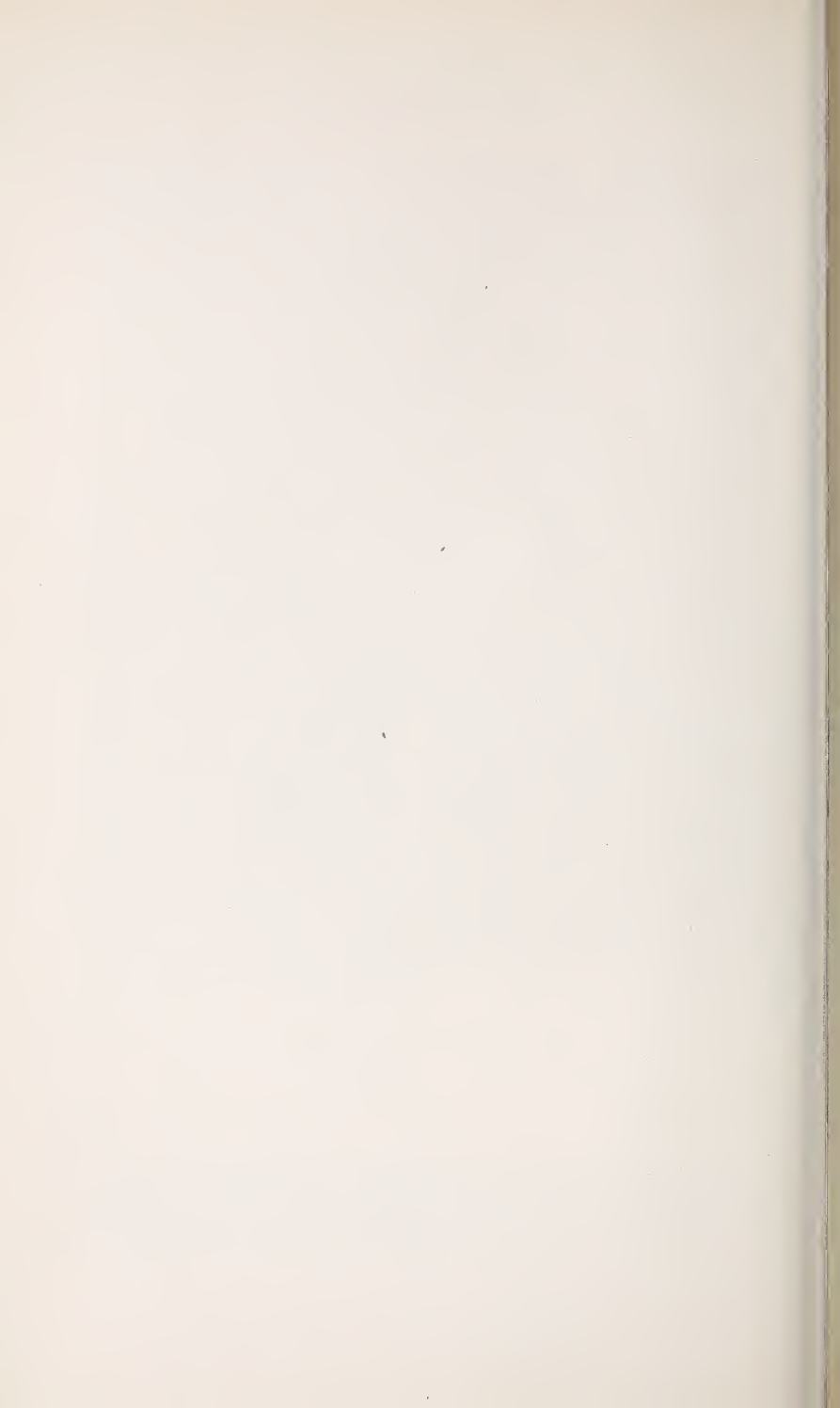
¹³⁸ This was James Bond, who lost his life by an accident in 1849. He had come to Oregon in 1847. *Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore.* I: 8.

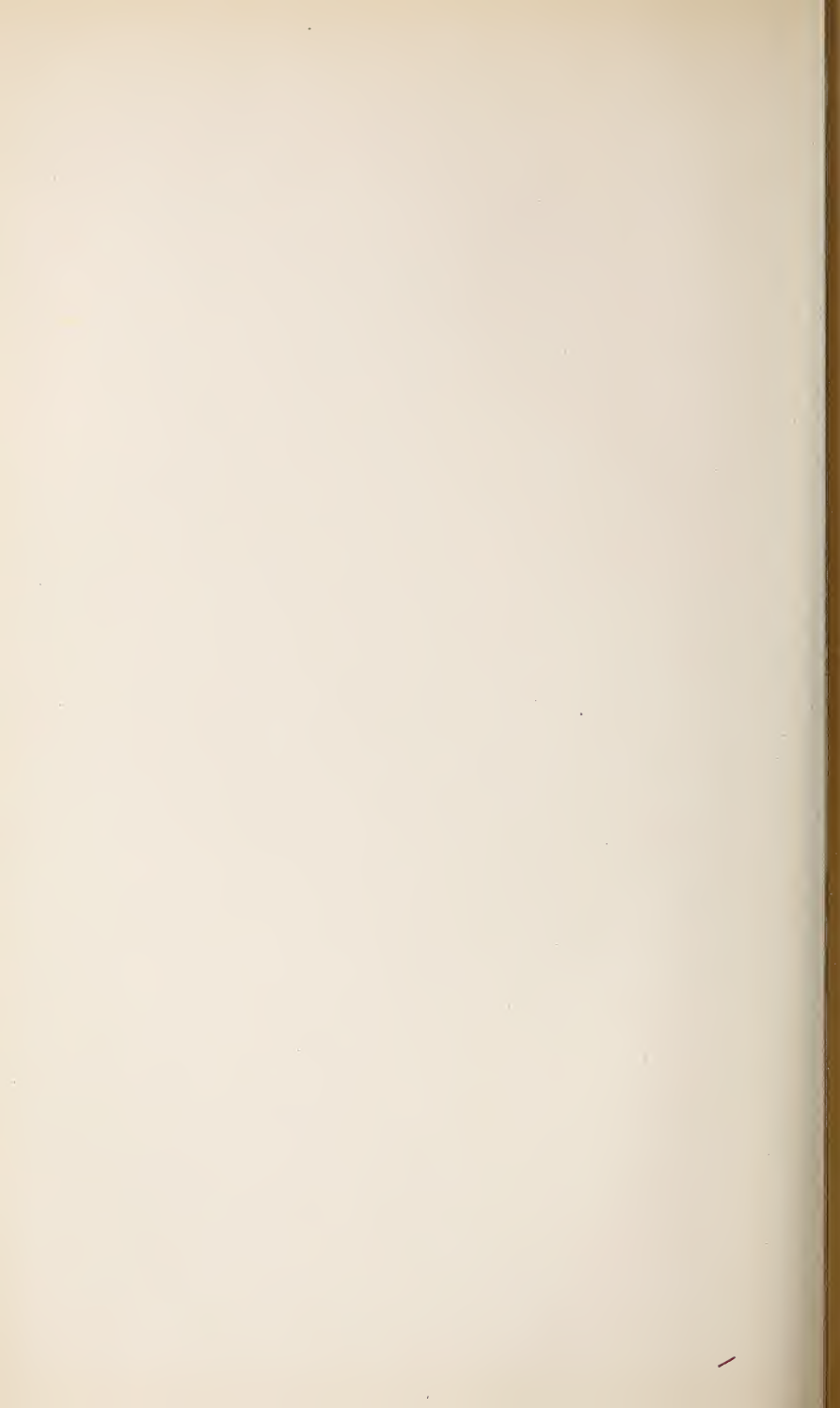
and rising community than during the last winter. We greatly need the prayers of the churches that we may reap ere long a gracious harvest. Our communities are surrounded by heathen and no one can tell the excessively immoral influence which the heathen exert on a civilized community. And then the number of professors are few, consequently but few restraints are imposed on the impenitent. Added to this, the fact that we are at present involved in an unpleasant Indian war with the Cayuse tribe inhabiting the country along the foot of the Blue Mountains, south of the Columbia River, keeps the people in a state of excitement unfavorable to the cultivation of the Christian graces. The apparent cause of the difficulty seems to have originated in the fact of the last year's immigrants having brought the measles among the Cayuse Indians. Many sickened and died with them and the flux. The Indians, ever jealous and credulous, suspected Dr. Whitman of poisoning them. It seems a treacherous half-breed who had been educated by the missionaries and resided in Dr. Whitman's family circulated the report that he had overheard the doctor and Mr. Spaulding discussing the subject of the best method of exterminating the Indians. Finally, about the 30th of November, one of the most inhuman tragedies which the history of savage cruelty has ever recorded was perpetrated in open day. Dr. Whitman, his excellent wife, Mr. Rodgers, a young man of unblemished character and engaging manner, studying for the ministry, and ten other persons were brutally butchered by the very chiefs who had long manifested great confidence in the Dr., and for whom he has so long labored and sacrificed almost all the blessings of civilization to ameliorate their conditions and direct their whole tribe to the glories of Heaven through a crucified Saviour. About thirty men, women and children were then taken captive and reduced to Indian slaves, and the females suffered the most revolting acts of savage violence in the presence of their own husbands and fathers and mothers, against which no entreaties or remonstrances were of any avail for more than a month, till Mr. Ogden, one of the chief factors of the Hudson Bay Co.,

proceeded with twenty-two men from Fort Vancouver and redeemed the captives and brought them to Oregon City. Mr. Spaulding and family have been rescued from imminent danger and are now in the Willamette Valley. Messrs. Eels and Walker have not yet been heard from. Fears are entertained that they, with their families, may be cut off. Yet, as they are in the Spokane country, it is hoped they will find a place of refuge at Fort Hall in case of imminent danger.¹³⁹ Our legislature was in session at the time of the news of the horrid massacre reached the settlements, and one company of about fifty men was immediately sent to The Dalles above the Cascade Mountains to secure the friendly relations of the Indians in that vicinity, and early in January five more companies were raised, put under the command of General Gillham and marched into the Cayuse country. Our troops have had two engagements with the Indians before reaching the Cayuse country, in which some fifteen or twenty Indians were killed and one of our men wounded.¹⁴⁰ Probably before this time there has been a general battle, if the Indians will risk an engagement in the open fields. It is generally hoped that we shall escape a general Indian war. The Hudson Bay Company exerts a great influence with the Indians, most of the officers and servants having taken Indian wives, and their interests and influence will be of a pacific character. Yet we do not feel ourselves altogether safe, living as we do in the midst of small tribes. We feel that our only confidence is in God and in His hands we surrender ourselves and our little ones daily. We are waiting with great anxiety.

¹³⁹ This account of the Whitman massacre is on the whole correct. The date was November 29th and 30th. Walker and Eels stayed in the Spokane Country until Spring, protected by the Indian chief. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 666. Cornelius Gilliam, not Gillham, was the commander of the territorial troops. *Ibid.* I: 676.

¹⁴⁰ The one wounded was Wm. Berry. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I: 703.





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EXTRACTS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED REMINISCENCES OF H. R. KINCAID

Go it Tip, come it Tyler,
Beat Old Van, or bust your biler.

While living in Madison County, Indiana, my native home, in my fifth year, 1840, I remember distinctly hearing men riding along the road in front of our house, and singing: "Go it Tip, come it Tyler, beat old Van, or bust your biler."

William Henry Harrison, the hero of the battle of Tippecanoe, was the Whig candidate for President, and John Tyler, the candidate for Vice-President, against Martin Van Buren, the Democratic candidate. Both were elected. That was the fourteenth Presidential election, but Harrison was the ninth President. Harrison died April 4, 1841, one month after his inauguration, and Tyler became President.

* * * * *

In 1844 I remember hearing men riding past our house, singing:

High O, the Hoosier boys, lay Polk low.

Henry Clay was the Whig candidate for President and James K. Polk was the Democratic candidate. The Democrats were shouting for war with Mexico, while the Whigs were trying to be neutral or were keeping still. That elected

Polk, an obscure Tennessean, over Clay, the great statesman and orator of Kentucky.

* * * * *

My father had a little pamphlet of sixty odd pages which he prized very highly, and brought it to Oregon. My mother kept it among her keepsakes for more than sixty years, until she passed away, November 4, 1912, in her 97th year. The inscription on the front page reads as follows:

One hundred and fifty reasons for believing in the final salvation of all mankind by Erasmus Manford. "What Is Truth?" Indianapolis: Erasmus Manford. 1848.

He quotes from the Prophets and some from the New Testament, frequently from the writings of Paul, and from other noted writers and commentators on the scriptures and religious subjects. He comments extensively and ably on all the sentences he copied as texts, and makes a very plausible argument in favor of universal salvation of all mankind. My father often argued with orthodox preachers, proving by the Bible, to his satisfaction, that the Bible does not teach or does not mean hell and damnation for lost sinners. According to my understanding it does threaten such punishment. But I hope and believe that the writers of such statements were mistaken. I have more confidence in the justice and good sense of the Lord, or God, or Universal Intelligence, than the men had who wrote such things.

* * * * *

In 1851 our family started to Oregon. In Benton County, Indiana, about thirty miles west of Lafayette, my father's oldest brother, James, resided. We stopped there for a short visit and then concluded to settle and give up the journey to Oregon. My father located on a claim, in the wide prairie, near Parish Grove, where he had to haul his firewood sixteen miles. We lived there one winter and summer. I went to Lafayette, when 16 years old, and worked several months in a brick yard at 25 cents a day. I got only a few dollars of my pay and went back in the winter to try to collect the balance. I got about thirty pounds of brown sugar, which

was nearly all I ever received for my summer's work, and carried it thirty miles on my back in a sack, traveling over deep snow in cold weather, and got home about midnight. That was one of my very hard and unpleasant experiences. The winter was very cold and we gave up trying to live there in the bleak prairie, so far from timber. Early in 1853 we started on to Oregon with one ox and one horse team and arrived in the Willamette Valley September 29, 1853.

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On the 5th day of May, 1855, I started alone on foot from Eugene with my provisions and bedding on a little Indian pony, for the mines in Southern Oregon and California.

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After there was no longer a chance to get work in the mines, on account of the Indian war, I and a young man named John Williams, took our blankets, frying pan and provisions on our backs and walked over the Coast Mountains from Althouse Creek to Crescent City on the Pacific Coast in California. I was not yet twenty years old and was slim and light built, but very strong and active. Williams was a good deal larger and several years older and stood the trip better than I did.

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In the spring I left my "partner" there at Crescent City and went to San Francisco, and have never seen nor heard of him since. There was no harbor nor wharf at Crescent City. Steamers anchored out in the ocean and little lighter boats carried passengers and freight to and from them. I took passage in the steerage of a little steamer called the Goliath and paid \$20 for the trip to San Francisco.

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I took passage on a steamboat at San Francisco and went up the Sacramento River to Sacramento City. There was a bar on the lower deck which was well patronized. Ex-U. S. Senator, who was then Governor of California, John B. Weller,

was on board, and he and others patronized the bar and were a lively crowd.

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Returning to Oregon I arrived at the family home, in the hills about three miles southeast of Eugene, about the last week in December, in the year 1857, having been away a little more than 31 months, tramping and working wherever I could find employment, in Southern Oregon and California, usually on ranches at about \$25 a month. During my absence my father had purchased six acres of land in the southern part of Eugene, at the south end of Olive street, now in almost the center of the town, and had the deed made to me.

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In October, 1866, I started east, intending to visit a World's Fair to be held in Paris, France, the next year. I went with my friend Congressman J. H. D. Henderson, to Washington, D. C., to spend the winter there and witness the proceedings of Congress and the scenes at the national capital, and then intended to go on to France the next Summer. I went to Portland and from Portland to San Francisco by steamer. At San Francisco he engaged the same stateroom for both of us on the new steamer Montana, which had just been sent around Cape Horn.

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At Aspinwall, or Colon, we were put on board an old steamer called the Ocean Queen. When in sight of Cuba the boat caught fire and the officers expected it would be destroyed. They got the life boats ready, and we all expected to be burned or drowned, unless we could escape in the life boats to Cuba, which was about eight miles north. But after great efforts the fire was put out. One engine was disabled, and the steamer ran to New York with one engine. We were twenty-one days making the trip, about 7,000 miles, from San Francisco to New York. We ran down a tug in the Hudson River and sank it just before landing at the wharf.

We remained a day or two in New York at the old Astor House. I put in the time sight seeing. I climbed to the top of Trinity church, walked from the Battery to Central Park, and saw more of New York City in one day than many people born and raised there had seen in a life time. On the cars, going from Jersey City to Washington, Mr. Henderson introduced me to Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the famous champion of freedom.

The first day in Washington I visited the dome of the capitol, the Smithsonian Institute, the patent office and many of the public buildings, and saw more of the city than many who had resided there all their lives.

Before Congress assembled Mr. Henderson and I went to Richmond and Petersburg, Va., to see the famous battlefield of Petersburg where the last great battle was fought between the Union and Confederate armies before Lee surrendered to Grant.

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As my position in Washington was a pleasant one, and I was promoted from time to time, I remained there about fourteen years, during the sessions of Congress, serving nearly twelve years as clerk in the U. S. Senate, going home to Oregon or visiting other places when Congress was not in session, crossing the continent on the Union and Central Pacific railroads eight times, both ways, after they were completed in 1869. C. P. Huntington, Vice-President of the Central Pacific, was the manager in the East, and was around Congress a great deal. His tall form was quite familiar to me, and also his handwriting, for he occasionally wrote me passes and signed them, and they were as good as gold with any conductor or officer of the road. He was a big man, mentally and financially, as well as physically, and his word or written order was law all along the line.

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In 1867 I attended a Fourth of July celebration on the battlefield of Manassas Junction or Bull Run. Senator John

A. Logan, of Illinois, delivered the oration. I picked up a shell on the battlefield that had not been exploded. I sent it to Oregon by way of Panama before the railroad across the continent was completed, and have since placed it in the Oregon Historical Society's collections at Portland.

During that year I was sent to western New York to meet a committee of Congress that had gone there to investigate. I did not find the committee, but made the trip, going and returning by way of New York City.

In 1867 I went to Boston and visited the Museum, Harvard College, Bunker Hill Monument, and other places of interest. I arranged with the librarian of Harvard College to have the volumes of the *Oregon State Journal* bound by the library and kept in the library. As long as the paper was continued after that date, for more than 40 years, I had every copy of the paper sent to that library. I made the same arrangement with Mr. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, at Washington, one of the largest libraries in the world, and always furnished the paper, and missing papers when called for, and suppose complete sets may be found in these libraries. To meet these and other demands I had twelve papers each week, after the first two or three years, put in boxes in Eugene, and have had three sets bound, and nine sets not bound. I also sent the paper always free to libraries in Portland, San Francisco, New York and other cities, but in most places they were not bound, but kept on a stick file awhile and then destroyed to make room for newer dates.

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From Boston I went to Montreal; then on a steamboat up the St. Lawrence River to Niagara Falls, passing the Thousand Islands on the way. From Niagara Falls I went by rail to the Hudson River and took passage on the steamboat Dean Richmond, at Athens. Some distance below Athens we met the steamboat Vanderbilt, of an opposition line, coming up the river. It was about 11 o'clock at night, and many of the passengers, including myself, had gone to bed in staterooms.

The Vanderbilt ran into the Dean Richmond, intentionally as many believed, and in a short time our boat was resting on the bottom, with the upper deck barely above water, which must have been 25 or 30 feet deep, because both boats were very large and high—regular floating palaces. When I heard the shock and commotion I tried to open the door, but the sinking of the boat had cramped the door. I got out through a window. The passengers were crowded on the upper deck. Whether any passengers were drowned on the lower decks I never knew, but supposed some were, the boat went down so fast. The baggage was on the lower deck and was under water several weeks before the boat was raised. I did not get my trunk in Washington for about a month, and then everything was faded. The passengers were taken off on small sail boats that were near, and were taken to New York on another steamboat.

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In 1868 I was elected by the Oregon Republican State Convention one of the six delegates to the National Republican Convention at Chicago. A proxy was also sent me to represent one of the other Oregon delegates. I attended and voted for U. S. Grant for President and Schuyler Colfax, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, for Vice-President. Both were nominated and elected. I gave my proxy vote to Congressman Rufus Mallory, who attended and voted for the successful nominees. I represented Oregon on the committee on platform. Eugene Hale represented Maine on that committee. He was a young man, then unknown to fame, but afterwards became quite a figure in national affairs as Congressman and Senator, serving in the Senate perhaps about thirty years until lately. He was active and put himself forward at every opportunity, in making the party platform. I noticed and remembered him on that account. He married, some years later, the only daughter of Senator Zach Chandler, of Michigan, distinguished for his wealth and for his speeches, about once a year, in which he twisted the British

lion's tail, and made himself popular with the Michiganders who didn't like the Canadians who lived across the river from them. Chandler was the Senator who telegraphed that Hayes had a majority and was elected. Hayes was finally put into the White House by herculean efforts of the Republicans, and Tilden was kept out.

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Again in 1872 the Republican State Convention of Oregon elected me one of their six representatives in the National Convention at Philadelphia and another representative sent me his proxy. So I had two of the six votes of Oregon at Philadelphia the same as at Chicago. I gave the proxy to Senator Henry W. Corbett and he was admitted on it. Grant was re-nominated for President without much or any opposition, but Schuyler Colfax, who had been Vice-President four years, was defeated, and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was nominated and elected, and served until he passed away during his term. He died suddenly in the Vice-President's room adjoining the Senate chamber. I was the only person in the Vice-President's room except the doctors when they dissected his body. I voted for Colfax, but did not know how Corbett voted, but thought perhaps he voted for Wilson. It was common rumor among the clerks of the Senate that his name was not Wilson but Colbath. He was either a foundling or an orphan, they said, and was raised by a family named Wilson. On both of these occasions, when given a vote and a proxy in two National Conventions to name a President and Vice-President and formulate a national policy, I was in Washington, D. C., and was, therefore, shown a preference by the convention in Oregon and by the delegate who sent the proxy over many active politicians in Oregon as well as the Senators and Representatives in Congress.

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According to popular theories every generation ought to improve on their ancestors. But I once heard Wendell Phillips lecture in Washington, D. C., on the "Lost Arts." He said

a good deal about the superior knowledge of the ancients; about "Damascus blades," as sharp as a razor, that would cut the hardest substances without dulling; about malleable glass that would bend; about magnifying glasses that gave them better knowledge of astronomy and the planets than we have; about the pyramids, composed of immense stones transported long distances and hoisted by machinery much more powerful than any which we now have; about railroads found in abandoned mines; about mummies preserved for thousands of years by processes not now known to the human race, after "developing" for thousands of years. He did not claim that the masses were then as intelligent as they are now, for they were not educated, but that the educated people then had more and higher knowledge than the same class of people have now. He seemed to believe that our universities and scientists have only found out a little of what their ancestors knew.

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In a long letter dated at Washington February 28, 1868, and printed in the *State Journal* at Eugene April 11, I described one of the most exciting periods in the history of the United States. A few lines are as follows:

"Sunday, the 23d of February, was a day of excitement in Washington. There has been nothing like it since the close of the war. * * * Monday came, and a vast crowd of people flocked to the capitol. A little after 8 o'clock every seat in the gallery of the house was taken, and by 10 o'clock, when the session opened, two hours earlier than usual, the vast building was alive with people. They swept through every corridor and passage from the first to the third story. The rotunda was full, the corridors around the galleries were blockaded, and the passage on the lower floor, extending the full length of the building, 750 feet, presented the appearance of a crowded thoroughfare." * * *

Then followed nearly two columns describing the debate in the House over the impeachment resolution, charging President Andrew Johnson with high crimes and misdemeanors, which had been introduced into the 39th Congress by Ashley of Ohio. A great many five-minute speeches were delivered.

Thad. Stevens, chairman of the committee on reconstruction that reported the impeachment resolution, closed the debate. Being too feeble to speak his speech was read by Clerk McPherson. At 5 o'clock Speaker Colfax called for a vote. The resolution passed, 126 yeas, and 47 nays, every member of the Union party present, including the Speaker, voting for it, and every Democrat against it. The great crowd then dispersed in the midst of a heavy snow storm that had continued all day. They had witnessed, by the House, the impeachment of the first American President, one of the most important acts ever performed by any legislative body in the history of the world. I was absent part of the time at Chicago and lost the run of the impeachment proceedings.

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The trial before the Senate as a court, commenced March 30, and ended May 12, 1868, taking about six weeks in the court, presided over by Chief Justice Chase, and about ten weeks from the time it had commenced in the House, February 24.

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"Andy" Johnson was in a pitiful condition at the time of this extraordinary trial. The trial was caused more by foolish words and acts on his part, and anger and jealousy on the part of Congress, than by any real necessity for turning him out of office. I believe now that Grimes, Trumbull and Van Winkle were right in voting to let him remain in office until the close of his term. But "old Grimes was dead" politically when he cast that vote, and so were Trumbull and Van Winkle.

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"Andy" was reported to be drunk in the White House nearly all the time and an "old fool" all the time. I do not know that he was drunk any time. I attended his receptions, and he appeared to be sober then, but had a sad, careworn face, showing a life of much labor, care and worry. Perhaps he was being lied about by the Republicans. Perhaps the Demo-

crats lied about Grant when they said he was nearly always drunk when he was on the Pacific Coast and a good deal of the time afterwards when commander-in-chief of the armies and when President. I attended his receptions when he was General and when he was President, and he always appeared sober, not the least hilarious, but a little sad, showing the effects of much worry and many cares. He did not look quite as sad as Andrew Johnson. Perhaps he did not take his troubles as much to heart as Johnson had. The gossips said President Johnson had a son in an inebriate asylum. I do not know whether there was any foundation for that. The President's wife had died, and the wife of Senator Patterson, of Tennessee, who was the President's daughter or sister and another daughter or sister kept house for him and helped him with his receptions.

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Lincoln said he had not much influence with his administration. In fact, no king, president, governor other important officer has much influence with his administration. They are hedged in with so many circumstances over which they have no control, and which must be controlled by other human power or by the Supreme Power of the Universe, that they are seldom free to do as they wish. President Johnson could have said truthfully that he had no influence with his administration. Nesmith of Oregon said when he got into the Senate he wondered how he got there. After he had been there a little while he wondered how the other fellows got there. Andrew Johnson was not the only man—the world is full of them—who have held important positions and no doubt have wondered what evil influence ever put them into positions which brought so much trouble upon them. But if they would reflect they might come to the conclusion that there are no two people just alike, and no two positions or conditions in life just alike, and somebody must fill every condition (?) and be in every position, whether he is called Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Kaiser, Lincoln, Grant or An-

drew Johnson. Why is it so? I do not know. After Johnson went out of the office of President he was elected a Senator from Tennessee. I sat on a sofa a few feet from him and heard him speak in the Senate about one hour in defense of his administration as President. The Senators did not give him much attention. He did not seem to have any more influence in the Senate than he had with his administration when he was President.

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There was more or less rivalry and jealousy between the Senators of nearly every state when there were two belonging to the same party. When there was one Republican and one Democrat they could get along all right, because one could not interfere with the appointments or party affairs of the other. The one belonging to the party in power was sole monarch of all he surveyed, and, like the devil in olden time, could take a constituent up on a high mountain and show him that he owned the whole world with a fence around it. But if there was another Senator of the same party to butt in, there was usually a row in the family or a feeling that one was superior to the other. Morton was the great man from Indiana, and any colleague of the same party who would have had the temerity to interfere with the great "War Governor" would have been reprimanded. Conkling of New York was the unquestioned Republican boss of New York. Edmunds of Vermont did not have to worry about old Morrill of Vermont, who usually kept quiet, but sometimes read or spoke a piece, slowly in a kind of stuttering voice, which Senators had heard for thirty years until they had become used to it. He did not interfere with Edmunds, the great, tall, stoop shouldered, bald-headed lawyer who tore to pieces every measure he failed to approve, and he usually disapproved of nearly everything and jumped on it with both feet. Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, whose bald head often arose when, in a loud voice, he laid down the law to his fellow Senators, did not seem to disturb or worry old Hannibal Hamlin, who had

been in office nearly fifty years, part of the time as Vice-President. Hamlin seldom had anything to say, and then only a few words, in a conversational tone, in reply to a question or explaining something, never anything like a "speech." But he always delivered the goods. When he went hunting he nearly always brought in meat. While his colleagues would be orating, Hamlin would perhaps go up to the President or one of the departments to get an appointment, or order, or recommendation for his state or for a constituent, and take off his old battered hat, and that old hat would never be put on again until he got what he went for. It was current rumor around the Senate that every President and every Secretary for generations had learned from experience that when that old stovepipe made its appearance and was set down on the floor or desk, there would be something doing before it would ever be taken up again to ornament the head of a statesman. Then there was old Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, the greatest Roman of them all. He started out like Ben Franklin as a poor printer boy. When he got into politics his party was in a minority in the legislature. He pulled over two or three of the majority party and elected himself Senator. It was never known just how he did it. But it gave him a great reputation all his life as a worker of wonders. For forty years or more he controlled the politics of the great State of Pennsylvania, and made and unmade presidents, and was a senator, a cabinet officer or foreign minister for nearly half a century. He said he had been called a leader of the people but he never was. He found out which way the people were going and marched right along with them in the front ranks. He could not have a rival, and did not need to be jealous of any other senator. They might orate all day, or two or three days at a time, as Conkling did in favor of the electoral commission bill to settle the dispute between Hayes and Tilden for the Presidency in 1877, but that did not disturb or arouse the envy of Simon Cameron, who had then perhaps lived 80 years, and had been used to

hearing outbursts of eloquence all his life. He never made speeches. He knew better. He would some times take a string and pull it with his fingers, and say a few words in favor of an appropriation to improve some Pennsylvania harbor on Lake Erie, and ridicule the outlandish names of Ohio towns in which old Ben Wade and John Sherman were interested, such as "Sandusky" and "Ashtabula." When he wanted anything he did not blow a trumpet or make a loud noise, but went around quietly and talked to senators privately, and usually got what he wanted.

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In 1872 the Legislature of Oregon met in the summer or fall when Congress was not in session. I came home to Oregon and remained in Salem during the entire session, working for the election of John H. Mitchell for U. S. Senator, the act to locate the University of Oregon at Eugene, and the act to build the locks at the falls of the Willamette at Oregon City. Personally I had the most friendly feeling for Senator Corbett, whose successor was to be elected, but I believed that Mitchell would make the best senator that could be elected, and I wished to help my personal and political friend, Attorney-General Williams, who had often helped me in securing appointments for my friends in Oregon and in many other ways, and who believed that his political future would be helped and depended largely on the success of Mitchell. I sent letters to the Attorney-General in Washington nearly every day, reporting the progress of the contest, and received frequent replies. Mitchell had a decided majority of the Republicans from the start, but the Democrats had a majority in the Senate, which was presided over by James D. Fay of Southern Oregon. On joint ballot the Republicans had a majority, but of these Senator Corbett had a strong and determined minority. Day in and day out, week in and week out, the struggle continued till Corbett, who had made a good senator and was one of Oregon's honored pioneers and best citizens, withdrew and Mitchell

was elected. Wakefield, the postmaster of Portland, was managing Corbett's campaign, and some mismanagement on his part caused Corbett to withdraw. Senator Bristow of Lane county supported Corbett and withdrew his name. The three Lane county representatives supported Mitchell.

Dr. A. W. Patterson, Democrat, and William W. Bristow, Republican, were the senators from Lane County. The three members of the House from Lane County, all Republicans, were C. W. Washburne, A. S. Powers and Nat Martin. The Senate passed the bill locating the State University at Eugene without much delay and sent it to the House. Rufus Mallory, ex-Member of Congress, was Speaker of the House, and S. A. Clarke was chief clerk of the House. I was well acquainted with both of them, having roomed with Clarke in Washington, and having been with Mallory much during his term in Congress and sometimes having attended to his correspondence when he was absent. When the session of the Legislature was near the close it appeared that the University bill could not be passed by the House. There was no printed calendar. Clarke had the bills tied with a string in a large package. The University bill was at or near the bottom and it would be impossible to reach it. I stood behind a railing at the back of the Speaker a long time to see that the University bill should not be neglected or overlooked in the shuffle, and frequently reminded him and the clerk of its great importance. In some way that bill got up from the bottom to the top of the package and was passed. Had it remained on the bottom the University would perhaps have been located at some other place by the next Legislature. How did it get up? It did get up and became a law! Many large buildings, a number of professors, and hundreds of students are now at Eugene, which would not be there if that bill had not become a law, and it surely would have failed if it had been left to take its chances with other measures and come up in its regular order. I have long believed that everything is possible if you know how to do it. Clarke and Mallory are entitled to much

credit for the success of the University at Eugene. B. F. Dorris, Judge J. J. Walton, W. J. J. Scott and others are entitled to much credit for organizing a society which helped the plan to locate the University at Eugene, but had not the bill been carefully looked after by one who had influence with the clerk and Speaker their efforts would have failed. The bill providing for the locks at Oregon City also became a law after a bitter fight against it by its opponents who called it "the lock and dam swindle."

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The most exciting time in Congress while I was in Washington, with the exception of the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson, was the long and almost revolutionary struggle over the Presidency in 1877, when the Republicans claimed that Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, had been elected, and the Democrats claimed that Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, had been elected at the election in 1876. Dr. J. W. Watts, postmaster at a little town in the Willamette Valley, I believe the place was Lafayette—I am writing these sketches entirely from beginning to end from memory without referring to any records—was one of the three electors from Oregon. The other two were Gen. W. H. Odell and, if I remember the name, John C. Cartwright. The Democrats objected to allowing Dr. Watt's vote to be counted for President, because according to their construction of a law a Federal "officer" could not hold the office of elector, and they held that a postmaster was an "officer" and an elector was an "officer," and no "officer" of the United States could hold two offices at the same time. I believe Watts had resigned. Governor Grover had appointed a man named [Eugene A.] Cronin to cast the vote in place of Watts. The Democrats also objected to the vote of an elector from the State of Florida. If Dr. Watts and the Florida elector, either one or both, I don't remember which, should be counted out, Tilden was elected. If one or both should be counted in Hayes was elected. The Oregon electors, including Governor Grover's man, Cronin, were

there in full force for weeks. Senator Zach Chandler, of Michigan, sent telegrams abroad, informing an anxious world, that Hayes was elected and would be inaugurated on the 4th of March. The Democrats threatened that if "old Zach" and his gang undertook to inaugurate Hayes and steal the Presidency from "President" Tilden, there would be war. They would march on Washington and destroy the city. The stand-pat Republicans said Hayes should be inaugurated at any cost. The Democrats said Tilden should be President if there were enough Democrats in the United States to put him in. Tilden, an excellent and sensible man, seemed to be more interested in preserving peace than in being President. Before resorting to force there was a kind of general agreement among members of Congress to frame some compromise and arbitrate the dangerous dispute.

The electoral commission bill was then introduced, and after long debate passed both houses of Congress. It created a commission composed of Senators and Representatives and one member of the Supreme Court. This commission had power to decide all disputed questions. This bill was debated several days in the Senate. Conkling, of New York, spoke all or a part of two days in favor of it, and had his desk and the floor around him covered with documents from which he quoted. My recollection is that Morton spoke against it. The general impression in and around the Senate was that this commission would decide in favor of Tilden. Blaine came into the room where his brother Bob and I worked and talked about it. He seemed to be worried and was in doubt whether he should vote for or against the bill. I do not remember how he voted, but the stand-pat Republicans mostly opposed it. Judge David Davis, of the Supreme Court, had been agreed upon to represent the Supreme Court on the commission, which otherwise was equally divided between Republicans and Democrats. He had Democratic leanings and it was about as certain as any future event can be that he would have cast the deciding vote in favor of Tilden. But while

this was going on in Washington the Illinois Legislature was contending over the re-election of Senator John A. Logan. A few Republicans bolted and helped the Democrats to elect Judge Davis as an independent to the Senate in place of Logan. This unexpected and unforeseen act upset the commission. He was then a Senator and not a Judge of the Supreme Court. The Senate and the House both had their members on the commission. Justice Bradley, of New Jersey, was then placed on the commission. He gave the casting vote in favor of Hayes and made him President of the United States. No doubt some of the Republicans who forced the act through Congress were disappointed and surprised. At any rate it was generally believed that Conkling and some of the New York members and their friends in other states did not want Hayes. "The best laid schemes of men aft gang alee." I am not sure if that is the correct quotation.

One of the clerks who had charge of enrolling the laws on parchment for preservation in the State Department, with whom I worked several years, named Cole C. Sympton, was from Illinois. He had secured his appointment through President Lincoln. When Judge Davis came into the Senate as an independent he went into the Democratic caucus, as soon as they had a majority in the Senate two years later, March 4, 1879. This he did to prevent the Democrats from removing the clerk from his state, while all the other Republicans had to go. This was the only time a change, for political reasons to make places, has been made in the Senate below secretary and sergeant-at-arms, except in 1861, in the time of the war of the rebellion. My Democratic successor is there yet under several Republican Senators. So here again a smaller matter controlled a larger one, the same as the election of a Supreme Justice to be a member of the Senate and the defeat of John A. Logan for re-election, had kept Tilden from becoming President of the greatest nation of the world and put Hayes in that office.

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There was a clerk in the Senate from Maine named Fitz. He got in through the influence of the Maine Senators, Lot M. Morrill and Hannibal Hamlin, or perhaps the last named. Fitz' desk was near mine. Hamlin used to come in when nothing interesting was going on in the Senate and spend much time talking with Fitz, the same as Senator Kelly of Oregon did with me. Hamlin was then quite old in years but extremely rugged and young for his age. He was of dark complexion, like Logan of Illinois. He had held office, Congressman, Senator, Vice-President and one place after another nearly all of his life after he became old enough. His experience in public affairs had been great. He liked to talk about the interesting things he had seen and heard. On one occasion I heard him telling about Daniel Webster. He said he was present in the Senate, probably then as a member of the House, and heard the famous debate between Hayne of South Carolina and Webster of Massachusetts. He said that while Hayne was speaking Webster was leaning his elbows on his desk with his face in his hands and was sound asleep and "drunk." When Hayne got through Webster appeared to wake up, and raised himself by holding to his desk. He soon seemed to get wide awake, and the result was that world-renowned speech. It is not likely that Webster was sound asleep or "drunk" either, although he used stimulants, as many public men did in those days, but was not a drunkard. It is very doubtful if the Union will be preserved forever. If Nature does not destroy it, by making oceans where continents now are and continents where oceans now exist, as has apparently been done in past ages, man will be likely to destroy it. The "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," are not all dead yet. "Religions take their turns and other creeds will rise with other years." And reformers, who can make laws to take the place of Nature, temporarily will destroy the government, perhaps, or change it into an absolute democracy, without constitutions, courts or restraints of any kind, where might makes right. It is not a republican representative gov-

ment in some of the states now, as it was in Webster's time.

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Senator Charles Sumner had secured the appointment of a young man as reading clerk in the Senate. Senator Edmunds of Vermont induced George C. Gorham, Secretary of the Senate, to remove Sumner's clerk and appoint a tall, fine looking man named Flagg from Vermont. Edmunds was a great lawyer, tall, with a head as bald as a billiard ball. He was perhaps the most influential man in the Senate on questions of law. During the administration of President Grant, Morton, of Indiana, whose legs were paralyzed so he could not walk and had to sit when he spoke, in a sledge-hammer, bulldog style, was considered the administration leader. Conkling, Zach Chandler, Edmunds, Logan and a few others were close seconds, and whooped it up for the President whenever he wanted anything. They looked upon Sumner, who had such a great name abroad, with the utmost contempt. In their opinion he was devoid of common sense, a man of one idea, a fanatic who never thought of anything but opposition to negro slavery, which had been abolished and was a dead issue. In their opinion he was a nuisance. He had little or no influence in the Senate for years. They had his clerk discharged and removed the Senator from the chairmanship of the committee on foreign relations, then considered the leading committee of the Senate, as the Secretary of State is considered the leader of the President's cabinet. They were hardly on speaking terms with him. Carl Schurz of Missouri was Sumner's close personal friend, and they voted the same on nearly everything. When the President wanted anything Sumner and Schurz jumped on it with both feet. When the President proposed to purchase and annex San Domingo, which required a two-thirds majority to ratify the treaty, they rejected it. Henry Wilson, the other Massachusetts Senator, was just the opposite of Sumner.

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When Conkling and Platt were the Senators from New York, just before I left Washington, Conkling became so enraged at Blaine for interfering in the appointment of collector of customs at New York City, that he and Platt both resigned. That quarrel perhaps caused the assassination of President Garfield by Guiteau, who in his muddled brain imagined that the President had committed a great wrong in allowing Blaine, Secretary of State, to dictate a New York appointment. Conkling was a very handsome, tall, aristocratic man. Governor William Sprague of Rhode Island raised the first regiment to fight for the Union in the war of the rebellion. He commanded them as General. After the war he was a Senator from Rhode Island for many years. He married Kate Chase, a very beautiful woman, daughter of Chief Justice Chase, Secretary of the Treasury under President Lincoln. Sprague became jealous of his wife, and left her because she was unusually bright and attracted the attention of public men. She held brilliant receptions at the Chief Justice's house when he was trying to get the nomination for President in place of Grant. The gossips had Conkling's name mixed up with this affair. They also said he lived mostly on milk and crackers. After Conkling resigned his seat in the Senate he practiced law in New York City. He got out in a deep snow in the streets and took cold and died.

When Fenton was elected Senator to succeed Senator Morgan, who had been the "war governor" of New York, the same as Senator Morton had been the "war governor" of Indiana, I was in the gallery of the State House of New York at Albany, and saw and heard the voting when Fenton was elected. When Fenton came into the Senate Conkling and the other administration Senators looked upon him about the same as they did on Sumner.

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Russell Sage was the projector and builder of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad. He was when a young man a member of Congress from the State of New York. After-

wards for many years he became one of the most powerful capitalists among railroad men in New York City and a great power in Wall street. It was said that he was the only man in New York at that time who always kept ten million dollars in bank ready to loan or be used in any emergency. When the Senate was not in session I was frequently in New York and became acquainted with Sage. He visited at my house in Washington and I received many autograph letters from him. My reminiscences, covering a period of nearly 80 years, from which these few paragraphs are taken in a condensed form, contain some of Sage's letters, and letters from governors, senators, congressmen, judges, clergymen, authors and others, taken from a collection of many thousand letters, and some of my editorials and other newspaper comments. It would make a large book and whether it will ever be published I do not know. When an attempt was made to assassinate Sage I wrote a lengthy editorial, taking that for a text. He sent me a letter of thanks, and Senator Dolph sent a letter saying he wished the article could be read by every person in the United States. I sent Sage my paper for twenty years or more, up to the time he passed away, perhaps about fifteen years ago. He left over seventy million dollars (\$70,000,000) for the Sage foundation, a charitable institution.

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During the four years that I served as Secretary of State of Oregon, along with Governor Lord, his wife was an enthusiastic advocate of making the growing of flax in Oregon an important industry. She was the pioneer of flax-growing in Oregon, and never lost an opportunity to talk about and explain her hobby. If Oregon ever becomes a flax-growing state, as it probably will, she will be entitled to most of the credit. The Governor was so much occupied with politics and the cares of state that he did not have the time nor patience to give much attention to the flax industry at that time, however important it might become in the distant future. Like Huntington, who said posterity might build their own

railroads, the Governor perhaps thought that posterity might raise their own flax or do without flax. The Governor was hard of hearing and did not hear all or much of his wife's eloquent appeals for flax in his presence, but he heard enough to know that flax nearly always came in somewhere. On one occasion, when the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General were attending a dinner party with others at the Governor's house, Mrs. Lord was explaining to the guests the great advantages that flax raising would be to Oregon. The Governor did not hear what she was saying but became suspicious that she had started on her hobby. He leaned over at the table and asked the Attorney-General in a low voice: "Is Julia talking about that damn flax?"

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When the 18th regular session of the Legislature of Oregon met in Salem January 14, 1895, I went into office as Secretary of State, to succeed Geo. W. McBride, who had held the office two terms, eight years. I administered the oath of office to Charles B. Moores, Speaker of the House, and to the sixty Representatives. The platform on which I and all the members of the Legislature had been elected had been unanimously adopted, on motion of Rufus Mallory, by the Republican State Convention, at Portland, as follows:

"The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the uses of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other."

Senator Dolph had declared in a speech in Boston, or some place in the East, that he "had the temerity to oppose" this silver Republican platform. All the Republicans had been elected on this platform and nearly all were in favor of silver

regardless of the platform. All parties on the Pacific Coast then favored it. I had the kindest feelings for Senator Dolph. I appreciated his valuable services as a Senator and his worth and ability as a man. I tried to persuade him to make some concessions to those who favored silver as standard money, and had written to him in the East to that effect, during the Summer, between the time of the election, June 4, 1894, and the meeting of the Legislature, January 14, 1895. But he would not. He was the only Republican candidate for Senator before the people when the Legislature was elected, and he reasoned logically that the election of a Republican Legislature settled it. He stood on his dignity and would not try to conciliate or influence any member of the Legislature in any way. The result was that nearly one-half of the Republicans refused to vote for him on account of his gold standard views. He lacked two or three votes. "From tradition" if not "from interest," I could not do otherwise than sympathize with those who refused to vote for him.

Those who were trying to whip in the opposition believed that the Secretary of State, with the power of his office, which then included the business of Secretary, State Auditor, State Insurance Commissioner, State Corporation Commissioner and member of every state board, could control two or three members and elect the Senator. One Senator introduced a bill in the Senate and two Representatives introduced bills in the House to repeal the laws allowing the Secretary of State fees. The fixed salary was very small and fees had been provided in lieu of salary. Without the fees the office would have been a liability that nobody without a large income would have wanted or could have afforded to hold. They let it be known that if the Secretary would get the members necessary to elect their man, which they said they knew he could, these bills would be withdrawn or put to sleep, otherwise away would go the fees! They were informed that they might go ahead with their bills and go to any old place with the fees! Then the fight started in earnest, and lasted till the last day of the

forty days' session, when Geo. W. McBride was elected after midnight.

Thirty members signed a pledge not to allow any law to be passed such as they threatened. Without that pledge they could not have done it, for the Secretary of State had a majority in both houses and the Governor behind him. I do not blame Senator Dolph and his friends for anything they did or tried to do. They felt sore at the bolters and at the Secretary. He might have felt the same if he had been in their places. Senator Dolph was entitled to re-election on account of his superior ability and his valuable public services. The everlasting money question, the almighty dollar, prevented his re-election. It also prevented the re-election of Senator Mitchell, in 1897, and the re-election of Secretary of State Kincaid in 1898.

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Gold and silver had been the standard of values at about 16 to 1 throughout the world for 2,000 years, until England adopted the single gold standard in 1816. This was done because England had billions of dollars invested in bonds and other securities in the United States and other debtor nations. Germany and other creditor nations followed England. These creditor nations used their great financial power to force it upon the United States. Iron, copper and other base metals have so little intrinsic values that they are not suitable for money. Paper is the same. Gold and silver are the only metals suitable for money, and, without silver, there is not enough gold in the world to pay ten cents on the dollar of the debts and carry on the business. Under this gold standard system all debts and all business is made payable in "gold coin," a physical impossibility.

The striking out of silver, the greatest part of the money of the world, doubled the value of gold, and the value of billions of bonds and interest and of investments originally made on a basis of gold and silver, so that it will take for an indefinite time double the amount of the products of labor to pay the

principal and interest on these "investments." Now, when England is spending five billions of dollars a year in war, Parliament is assured that they can carry on the war five years on what the debtor nations owe England. Had it not been for the single gold standard, which enabled them to draw such vast wealth from their bonds and "investments," they would not have the means to carry on so great a war. Nor would their interests prompt them to do it. It is the desire to keep up this system of drawing wealth from other nations that has caused the war. England wants a monopoly of this "business," and Germany is fighting for "self-preservation," that is, to keep England from getting all or more than her share of the trade and wealth of other countries. Under the gold and silver system of money that had existed for thousands of years these nations could not have drawn such fabulous wealth from "investments" in other countries, and this greatest war the world has ever known would in all human probability not have ever been, and surely not during the present age. It was forced on the United States by the great money power of England and Germany, in the interest of great wealth, when they were drawing billions of dollars for bonds, stocks and all kinds of investments in America, all made payable in gold coin of much greater purchasing power than the original investments, constantly being reinvested and increasing in values. Now this vast increase of wealth in the hands of the already wealthy owners of stocks and bonds and accumulated money, by laws increasing the power of their accumulated capital, at the expense of the debtors and laborers, is reacting with terrible force against those who did it. It is sweeping away billions of dollars, millions of lives, and destroying the labors of a century. War expenses, war taxes and income taxes will take all their income in "gold coin" and some more, and they will be glad to remonetize silver and have the money of the world, gold and silver, when this war is over.

In the United States silver continued to be standard of

value at 16 to 1 until 1873. Then, by mistake or design, silver was dropped out in revising or codifying the coinage laws. Congressmen denied that it had been done intentionally. A great clamor went up all over the United States, the great silver producing country of the world, for the remonetization of silver, for "free silver" or "bimetallism," as it was variously called. The Pacific Coast and all the silver producing states and territories, which produced about \$70,000,000 a year, were greatly damaged. All parties professed to be in favor of remonetizing silver, for twenty years. Suddenly the "gold bugs" took control, first of Grover Cleveland and a part of the Democratic party, and then of Wm. McKinley, who had advocated silver, and the leading faction of the Republican party, and changed the financial system of the United States. Now an army of financial doctors are trying to devise some scheme by which promises to pay money can take the place of money, but all the promises stipulated that they must eventually be paid in "gold coin," when the government, the banks, the corporations and the individuals who make these promises know there is not enough "gold coin" in the world and never can be, to pay ten cents on the dollar of their promises.

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The gold standard candidate for Governor and a lot of imported hired orators from the East made a whirlwind campaign throughout Oregon in 1898. They whooped up the war against Spain, and made it clear to themselves and to a majority of the voters that if any nominee on the Union ticket should be elected, the volunteers who were being marched around through Oregon, at large expense, for political effect, would be without food and clothing in the Philippine Islands or wherever they should be. The election of a state officer in Oregon opposed to the gold standard would paralyze the army and navy of the United States, and the sons and brothers of Oregon voters might starve and go naked while fighting for their country in foreign lands! The re-election of the Sec-

retary of State, as a silver Republican, on the Union ticket, would be the unkindest cut of all to the patriotic soldiers. He had caused to be printed and distributed a pamphlet containing his writings against the gold standard for twenty-two years, from 1873 to 1895. A man who would for twenty-two years support the Republican platforms favoring bimetallism—silver and gold for standard money—and opposing the single gold standard, and would then keep right on doing the same thing, after the leaders of the party, in England and Germany and some in America, had taken control of the party and elected a former free silver advocate President on a gold platform; a man who would fight for the principle on which he had been elected and which he had always favored, was especially offensive to the refined tastes of the advocates of “sound money” and “criminal aggression,” as McKinley at first styled the clamor for a war against Spain. No party could change oftener or faster than they could! By such representations the gold standard candidates were all elected by large majorities, but the defeated candidate for Secretary of State had more than 1,200 more votes than the average vote for the other Union candidates.

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Just before I went out of office of Secretary of State my friend Governor Lord, who stood by me loyally all the time, regardless of political dissensions and divisions in the Republican party over the money question, nominated four or five regents of the University of Oregon, my name being one of the number. ¹Holman, a California newspaper writer, had come to Salem and was writing for the Oregonian. As soon as I was out of office he filled his letters mainly with attacks on my administration. Governor Geer sent a message to the Senate asking for the withdrawal of Governor Lord's nominations. He objected to the name of Kincaid, but would return

1. Alfred Holman, born in Yamhill County, Oregon, July 6, 1857. He began his newspaper career on the Portland Daily Bee in 1876, and was attached to the editorial staff of the Oregonian from 1888 to 1891. His grandfather, John Holman, was a pioneer of 1843, his father, Francis Dillard Holman, a pioneer of 1845, and his mother, Mrs. Mary McBride Holman, a pioneer of 1846.

all the others. The Senate refused to return the names, about 25 of the 30 Senators, including nearly all the Republicans, voting against returning and being in favor of confirming, but they were in the hands of a chairman of a committee who refused to report them so the Senate could vote on them. Those who were engaged in inspiring these attacks and this petty spite-work went to the presiding officer and informed him that he had a legal right to send the names to Governor Geer without the consent of the Senate, which he did before the Senate had time or thought to order the committee to report the names. Governor Geer then returned all the names but Kincaid's name, in place of which he substituted the name of Wm. Smith, Populist Senator from Baker County. He remarked that he did not understand why the Governor had objected to a Republican and then sent in the name of a "wild-eyed Populist." Holman was a relative of Senator McBride, for whose election to the Senate I had contributed more than anybody by keeping him in the State House during the entire session of the Legislature in 1895 and by refusing to get a vote or two necessary to elect Senator Dolph as his friends had demanded on threat of cutting off the fees of the office of Secretary of State. But McBride had no part in the fight that was being made on his friend, and was not to blame, and perhaps those in Salem who were inspiring and directing the attacks felt justified. From their point of view I had deserted the party and had tried to prevent their election. From my point of view they had deserted the principles of the party and had prevented me from being re-elected to an office to which I was entitled "from tradition and interest." The nation was changing its financial system. The party with which I had always acted and have continued to act since, had suddenly reversed itself on a very important subject. It was natural that the majority should go with the party wherever it went, following the name. I was responsible for my defeat by refusing in an interview in the Oregonian to accept a nomination on a gold standard platform. I was the nominee on

the Union ticket, not of the Democrats or Populists, who had their candidates, but of the "Silver Republicans." The sentiment in favor of a second term, which every Secretary of State had held, was almost unanimous. Nothing could have prevented a re-election on the Republican ticket. Some of my most devoted friends for many years were very angry because I had "deserted" or "betrayed the party," as they called it. Some of them lived to realize, no doubt, and others will if they are in the land of the living long enough, that they and the party made a mistake when they forced the English and German financial system on the United States.

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SOME DOCUMENTARY RECORDS OF SLAVERY IN OREGON

By FRED LOCKLEY.

Though Oregon is far north of the Mason and Dixon line, yet slaves were held in Oregon in the days of the Provisional Government. Officially slavery never existed in Oregon, but actually some of the Oregon pioneers held slaves. Hidden away in the dry-as-dust records of the county court when what is now Multnomah County was a part of Washington County and when Hillsboro was the county seat, and in consequence put on airs over its humble neighbor, Portland, you will find some interesting documents. While looking through one of the early day volumes of records recently I came upon this unique record (this is presented not as an instance of actual slavery in Oregon, but to show that the registration of a document of manumission was considered advisable in Oregon):

“Know all men by these presents, that for and in consideration of five hundred dollars, to me in hand paid by Jane Thomas, late Jane Snowden, a free woman of color, the receipt whereof is hereby confessed and acknowledged, I David Snowden, of the County of Ray, in the State of Missouri, have bargained, sold and delivered to her the same Jane Thomas, late Jane Snowden, a free woman of color, one certain negro boy slave named Billy, aged about eleven years and the son of the said Jane Thomas, late Jane Snowden, a free woman of color. This sale is made to gratify the said Jane Thomas the mother of the said negro boy Billy, as she is about to emigrate to Oregon and wishes to take the boy with her. Given under my hand and seal this 17th day of December, A. D. 1852. David Snowden (seal).

“Received for record April 10th and and recorded this thirteenth day of April, A. D. 1854. W. S. Caldwell, Auditor and Recorder, Washington County, Oregon Territory.”

Look over the early records of Clark County, then a part

of Oregon, but now a part of the State of Washington, and you will find the following record:

"Fort Vancouver, May 5, 1851.

"Mommia Travers, a black woman, aged about forty-five, bought by me from Isaac Burbayge, in April, 1849, I have this day given her freedom unconditionally, and she is in all respects free to go and do as may seem to her most to her advantage, without let or hindrance from me, my agents, heirs or assigns. Witness my hand and seal, at Vancouver, May 5th, 1851. Llewellyn Jones, Captain, U. S. A.

"The above named woman, Mommia, is an honest and perfectly conscientious woman and deserves kind and good treatment at the hands of every one. Llewellyn Jones, Captain, U. S. A. Recorded, July 29th, 1857."

Some of the early pioneers of Oregon hailing from the South brought their slaves to Oregon with them and asserted their right to hold them as slaves in Oregon. One of the strong men in politics in Oregon's early days was Colonel Nathaniel Ford. Some years ago T. W. Davenport, whose son, Homer Davenport, the cartoonist, put Silverton on the world's map, wrote to Judge R. P. Boise, of the Oregon Supreme Court, and received the following reply¹ as to the legal status of slavery in Oregon in the early fifties:

"Yours of the second instant is just received. Colonel Nathaniel Ford came to Oregon from Missouri in 1844 and brought with him three slaves—two men and one woman. The woman was married to one of these men and had some small children. Ford claimed these children as slaves and continued to claim them until 1853. One of these children—a girl—had, prior to that time, been given to Mrs. (Dr.) Boyle, a daughter of Ford. Prior to 1853 the parents of these children (Robbin and Polly) had claimed their freedom and left Ford and in 1852 were living at Nesmith's Mills, but Ford had kept the children. In 1853 Robbin, the father of the

1. This letter was used by Davenport in his discussion of the "Slavery Question in Oregon." (See this Quarterly, Vol. IX, pp. 189-253. The letter is given as a foot note on page 196. Mr. Lockley's version of it corrects the date of Nathaniel Ford's arrival in Oregon.) Mr. Davenport submitted the letter to bear out his statement—"There was not one negro slave within its (Oregon Territory's) far-reaching boundaries or within a thousand miles thereof." Of course, the letter proves an instance of such slavery prior to 1853.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

children, brought a suit by *habeas corpus* to get possession of the children. The case was heard by Judge George H. Williams in the summer of 1853, and he held that these children, being then (by the voluntary act of Ford) in Oregon, where slavery could not legally exist, were free from the bonds of slavery, and awarded their custody to their father."

The history of slavery legislation in Oregon is an interesting chapter of Oregon's state life. Peter H. Burnett, the leader of the Oregon immigration of 1843 and later the first Governor of the State of California, was a member of the Legislative Committee of Oregon in 1844. He was from the South and was opposed to slavery largely on account of the evil to both the white and black races by the inevitable mixing of the races where slavery existed. He was also opposed to the liquor industry. He was the author of the bills prohibiting slavery and regulating the use of liquor. The slavery act passed by the Provisional Legislature was as follows:

"An Act in regard to Slavery and Free Negroes and Mulattoes.
"Be It Enacted by the Legislative Committee of Oregon as follows:

"Section 1. That slavery and involuntary servitude shall be forever prohibited in Oregon.

"Section 2. That in all cases where slaves have been, or shall hereafter be brought into Oregon, the owners of such slaves shall have the term of three years from the introduction of such slaves to remove them out of the country.

"Section 3. That if such owners of slaves shall neglect or refuse to remove such slaves from the country within the time specified in the preceding section, such slaves shall be free.

"Section 4. That when any free negro or mulatto shall have come to Oregon, he or she, as the case may be, if of the age of eighteen or upward, shall remove from and leave the country within the term of two years for males and three years for females from the passage of this act; and that if any free negro or mulatto shall hereafter come to Oregon, if of the age aforesaid, he or she shall quit and leave within the term of two years for males and three years for females from his or her arrival in the country.

"Section 5. That if such free negro or mulatto be under the age aforesaid the terms of time specified in the preceding

section shall begin to run when he or she shall arrive at such age.

"Section 6. That if any such free negro or mulatto shall fail to quit the country as required by this act, he or she may be arrested upon a warrant issued by some justice of the peace, and if guilty upon trial before such justice, shall receive upon his or her bare back not less than twenty nor more than thirty-nine stripes, to be inflicted by the constable of the proper county.

"Section 7. That if any free negro or mulatto shall fail to quit the country within the term of six months after receiving such stripes, he or she shall again receive the same punishment once in every six months until he or she shall quit the country.

"Section 8. That when any slave shall obtain his or her freedom, the time specified in the fourth section shall begin to run from the time when such freedom shall be obtained."

This was passed at the June session in 1844. At the December session of the same year Peter H. Burnett introduced an amendment, which was passed on December 19, 1844, which reads as follows:

"An Act amendatory of An Act passed June 26th, 1844, in
Regard to Slavery and for other purposes.

"Be It Enacted by the Legislative Committee of Oregon as follows:

"Section 1. That the sixth and seventh sections of said act are hereby repealed.

"Section 2. That if any such free negro or mulatto shall fail to quit and leave the country, as required by the act to which this is amendatory, he or she may be arrested upon a warrant issued by some justice of the peace; and if guilty upon trial before such justice had, the said justice shall issue his order to any officer competent to execute process, directing said officer to given ten days' public notice, by at least four written or printed advertisements, that he will publicly hire out such free negro or mulatto to the lowest bidder, on a day and at a place therein specified. On the day and at the place mentioned in said notice, such officer shall expose such free negro or mulatto to public hiring; and the person who will obligate himself to remove such free negro or mulatto from the country for the shortest term of service, shall enter into a bond with good and sufficient security to Oregon, in a

penalty of at least one thousand dollars, binding himself to remove said negro or mulatto out of the country within six months after such service shall expire; which bond shall be filed in the clerk's office in the proper county; and upon failure to perform the conditions of said bond, the attorney prosecuting for Oregon shall commence a suit upon a certified copy of such bond in the circuit court against such a delinquent and his sureties."

John Minto, an Oregon pioneer of 1844, gives an interesting sidelight on the question of slavery under Oregon's provisional government. At the rendezvous of the emigrants on the Missouri River he with W. H. Rees fell in with George Washington Bush, a mulatto, who was waiting the gathering of the emigrants to go with them to Oregon. Mr. Minto and Mr. Rees accepted the hospitality of Mr. Bush and his wife and ate dinner with them. They were in the same emigrant train, though Mr. Bush forged ahead of Mr. Morrison, for whom John Minto was working. On September 5th Mr. Minto, who had gone on foot a few miles ahead of the train, again fell in with Mr. Bush. Bush was riding a mule and Minto was afoot. They went back together to the wagon train, and as they journeyed leisurely to rejoin the others they discussed the question of slavery. Mr. Bush told Mr. Minto that if men of his color were discriminated against in Oregon he was going on into California to secure the protection of the Mexican government.

Food getting short John Minto and two other young men, Crockett and Clark by name, struck out ahead for the 600-mile journey, depending on their guns for food. At Fort Hall they found James W. Marshall, who was later to turn all eyes toward California by his discovery of gold in Sutter's millrace. He told them that Peter H. Burnett, who had come the year before, had sent a letter back to the emigrants. Alexander Grant, the Hudson Bay trader in charge of Fort Hall, had the letter. Mr. Burnett, who within a few years was to become the first American Governor of the State of California, said in his letter to send word on ahead if the emigrants were

apt to need food. While Minto and his two companions were at the Fort G. W. Bush with his wife and five children and his cattle arrived at the Fort. It was decided to have Minto, Clark and Crockett press on as rapidly as possible and tell Peter Burnett to send help to the emigrants. After considerable hardship the three young men reached the Willamette Valley and delivered their message to Peter Burnett. For a while they cut rails for General McCarver and then took a contract to get out a considerable number of oak rails for Peter Burnett. When this work was finished they went up in a Hudson Bay bateau furnished by Dr. John McLoughlin to help the emigrants down the river. At The Dalles they found G. W. Bush, who had decided to stay there all winter and take care of his stock and the stock of some of his fellow emigrants. Later he moved to Washougal Prairie. He wanted to come to the Willamette Valley, but on account of the stand taken against negroes he moved on the north side of the Columbia, thinking to be under the British Government, for at that time the British claimed the country north of the Columbia. Bush was very popular with the early settlers on account of his thrift, good nature and generosity. He had helped several white families financially to get their outfits to come in 1844 and he helped many who were destitute when they arrived. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1790. With Colonel M. T. Simmons and some others he settled in the Puget Sound country in 1845. Bush Prairie is named for him. His son, William Owen Bush, won the first premium at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia on wheat grown on Bush Prairie.

The question of slavery in Oregon was instrumental in delaying the plan of Oregon to be made a territory. Thomas B. Benton, Oregon's firm friend, writing in 1847 as to the action or rather lack of action by Congress said:

"The House of Representatives as early as the middle of January, passed a bill to give you Territorial Government, and in that bill had sanctioned and legalized your provisional organic act, one of the clauses of which forever prohibited the existence of slavery in Oregon. An amendment from

the Senate committee, to which this bill was referred, proposed to abrogate that prohibition; and in the delays and vexations to which that amendment gave rise, the whole bill was laid upon the table and lost for the session. This will be a great disappointment to you, and a real calamity; already five years without law or legal institution for the protection of life, liberty and property and now doomed to wait a year longer. This is a strange and anomalous condition, almost incredible to contemplate, and most critical to endure, a colony of freemen 4,000 miles from the metropolitan government, and without law or government to preserve them. But do not be alarmed or desperate. You will not be outlawed for not admitting slavery. Your fundamental act against that institution, copied from the ordinance of 1787, the work of the great men of the South in the great day of the South, prohibiting slavery in a territory far less northern than yours, will not be abrogated, nor is that the intention of the prime mover of the amendment. Upon the record the judiciary committee of the Senate is the author of that amendment, but not so the fact. It is only midwife to it. Its author, Mr. Calhoun, is the same mind that 'generated the firebrand' resolutions, of which I send you a copy, and of which the amendment is the legitimate derivation. Oregon is not the object. The most ardent propagandist of slavery cannot expect to plant it on the shores of the Pacific, in the latitude of Wisconsin and the Lakes of the Woods. A home agitation and disunion purposes is all that is intended by thrusting this firebrand question into your bill, and at the next session, when it is thrust in again, we will scourge it out, and pass your bill as it ought to be. I promise you this in the name of the South as well as of the North; and the event will not deceive me. In the meantime the President will give you all the protection which existing laws and detachments of the army and navy can enable him to extend to you; and until Congress has time to act, your friends must rely upon you to govern yourselves as you have heretofore done under the provisions of your own voluntary compact, and with the justice, harmony and moderation which is due to your own character and to the honor of the American name."

On August 18, 1857, the delegates to the Oregon State Constitutional Convention met at the Marion County court house in Salem and took action toward deciding whether Oregon should be a slave state or a free state. Article 18

provided that: "For the purpose of taking the vote of the electors of the state for the acceptance or rejection of this constitution, an election shall be held on the second Monday of November, in the year 1857. * * * Each elector who offers to vote upon this constitution shall be asked by the judges of election this question: 'Do you vote for the Constitution? Yes or No? And also this question: 'Do you vote for slavery in Oregon? Yes or No?' And also this question: 'Do you vote for free negroes in Oregon? Yes or No.?' * * * If this constitution shall be accepted by the electors, and a majority of all votes given for and against slavery shall be given for slavery, then the following section shall be added to the bill of rights and shall be part of the constitution: 'Persons lawfully held as slaves in any state, territory or district of the United States, under the laws thereof, may be brought into this state; and such slaves and their descendants may be held as slaves within this state, and shall not be emancipated without the consent of their owners.'

"And if a majority of such votes shall be given against slavery, then the foregoing section shall not, but the following section shall be added to the bill of rights, and shall be a part of this constitution: 'There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the state, otherwise than as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.'

"And if a majority of all the votes given for and against free negroes shall be given against free negroes, then the following section shall be added to the bill of rights and shall be a part of this constitution: 'No free negro or mulatto, not residing in this state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside or be within this state or hold any real estate, or make any contracts, or maintain any suit therein; and the legislative assembly shall provide by penal laws for the removal by public officers of all such negroes and mulattoes, and for their effectual exclusion from the state, and

for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the state, or employ or harbor them.'”

When the votes were counted it was found that there were 2,645 votes for slavery and 7,727 votes against making Oregon a slave state. There were 1,081 votes to allow free negroes to come to Oregon and 8,640 against allowing free negroes to reside in the state.

The slavery question a few years later snuffed out the light for all time of some of the leading politicians of Oregon who espoused the South's view on slavery.

Finally on February 14, 1859, in spite of the strained feelings upon the question of slavery, Oregon was admitted as a territory and the position of governor of the newly created territory was offered to Abraham Lincoln. His wife not caring to leave her friends in Illinois, Lincoln declined the appointment and General Joseph Lane, who had distinguished himself in the Mexican war, was offered and accepted the place, thus becoming Oregon's first territorial governor.

DIARY OF REV. JASON LEE

EDITORIAL NOTE.

"The Jason Lee Memorial Addresses" contain data bearing upon his lineage, life and work. These were published in volume VII. of this Quarterly, pp. 225-291. Special brief characterizations of the different members of the Jason Lee missionary party by Harvey W. Scott are to be found on pp. 252-4, in one of these addresses. These memorial addresses were given at Salem, Oregon, on June 15, 1906, on the occasion of the reinterment of his ashes in the "Lee Missionary Cemetery," near that city. Having died on his second return from Oregon to the East at his native place, Stanstead, just across from the border of Vermont, in the Province of Quebec, he had been there buried.

Left Stanstead, Lower Canada, August 19, 1833.

Sunday, April 20, 1834, arrived at Liberty, Mo., on my way to the Flat Head Indians.

Sunday evening—Attempted to preach in the Court House, but when about half through, the wind frightened the people away and I dismissed by pronouncing the blessing, although I did not apprehend any danger.

21.—Monday, P. M. Rained very hard. Daniel went to look for Bro. Munroe and, if possible persuade him to go with us.

22.—Went 9 miles to Independence and found Brother Shepard and slept very comfortably with him in the tent designed for our journey. Felt thankful that we had arrived safe without accident to the [place] where we were to prepare for our overland trip.

23.—This has been spent in making preparation for our departure.

24.—This evening D. returned though he could not succeed in getting the man for whom he went, yet he engaged two others, one of whom I had conversed with on the subject and think he will do well to teach the Indians.

April 25.—Went over to Liberty and finished our business and accompanied our two friends to our encampment. Took leave of Mr. and [Mrs.] Kelly, who kindly and gratuitously entertained us while at Liberty.

Saturday.—Purchased some cows and more horses and removed 4 miles from the river with the intention of camping

with Capt. Wyeth¹ about 9 miles from the river, but was belated and accepted an invitation to turn in and lodge with a man by name Rickman,—pitched our tent. Part lodged in the house and part in the tent. He took nothing for our entertainment.

Sun. 27.—Prayed with the family and took our departure as soon as possible after an early breakfast, being fearful that the company would start early and we be left behind, but they did not decamp. Had we known that they would not, we should not; but should have complied with the pressing request of many and preached in Independence.

Mon. 28.—After seeing the animals packed ready for starting returned to Inde. to attend to some things which in our hurry we had neglected. Came back and dined at Bro' Ferri's, a local preacher, who kindly gave us corn for our horses and entertained some of us; and then rode on and came into camp at dusk thankful that we were on our way to the farthest West.

Tues. 29.—Started early, accompanied by Bro. Edwards,² to find Bro. T. Johnson at the Shawnee Mission, about 7 miles from camp, but not knowing that course traveled twice that distance, but was much pleased to find Sister Johnson surrounded with Shawnee sisters engaged in quilting. Stayed over night; tried to purchase a horse from the Indians but could not agree on the price.

Wednes. 30.—Bought of Bro. Johnson a cow for beef. Started accompanied Bro. J. for the camp. After reaching the prairie Bro. Johnson Re'd from me for the Mis. Soc. \$150.00.

Came into camp before night and was rejoiced for we feared we should be obliged to camp by ourselves.

Last evening the company encountered a terrible hail storm, but we had only a shower at the Mission.

Thurs. May 1.—A little before we encamped, saw a few

¹ Capt. Nathaniel J. Wyeth.

² P. L. Edwards.

families of Caw [Kaw] Indians, they are a band broken off from the Osage. No sooner had we encamped than they came from their village of bark huts and thronged around us to our annoyance.

They are a miserable looking set of beings—half-naked—the children some of them entirely so. Bro. Shepard¹ remarked that he never before felt half so much like trying to benefit the Indians.

Two females came with two naked children under their blankets and made signs that they were hungry and the children too.

Multitudes of nearly famishing [dogs] belonging to the Indians were prowling about camp all night.

Friday 2.—Did not decamp. Some of our com. visited the Indian camp. I had a desire to go but had so much to do writing letters &c., that I could not. They said that the Is. [Indians] had plenty to eat but they had rather beg than eat their own.

Sat. 3.—Struck tent—came ahead of the Com. and found a number of wigwams on the bank of the Kansas. They are Caws—came here to visit the agent General Clark (cousin to Gen. Clark who went to the Columbia with Lewis).

The company soon came up and immediately set about crossing the baggage in a flatboat. I crossed with ours the first load.

The Indians thronged around us and we were obliged to watch diligently to prevent them from pilfering little things.

Sat down to finish some letters to send back by the wagoner who had accompanied us from Independence.

Swam the horses all safe but the horned cattle were very troublesome and when drove in would swim back. Our beef cow swam far down the river and went ashore below the men and ran into the woods a man followed her but lost her in the bushes. Four or five went in pursuit of her but could not find her.

¹ Cyrus Shepard.

Sun. 4.—Rained a little in the morning. No regard paid by any of Capt. W's company to the Sabbath and but little in appearance by ours for we were obliged as we judged to do things which we should not have done under other circumstances. We engaged the Indians to look for our cow and looked ourselves but in vain. She either returned to the mission or the Indians made sure of her we think, for they are in a state of starvation we are told having been frightened away by the Cholera and their corn rotted last year.

Monday 5.—Exchanged a little cow and calf with a Half Breed for a beef cow. Left some letters [with] General Clark's son to be sent the first chance to the Post Office which is perhaps 30 mi. Related to him the circumstances of the lost cow and requested if found to communicate to F. Johnson and request him to take her and account to the Mission So. for her; he promised to do all he could but thought it probable that the Indians had eaten her.

Started early before breakfast from the agency and traveled till 12 o'clock and then took breakfast.

It is called 75 mi. from the agency to Independence.

Two Indians turned in a yoke of oxen with ours and assisted in driving. Others followed and are cooking their dinner a little distance from us they come and sit down and watch us while cooking as if they had a great desire to be partakers with us but we dare not give them our food lest we should not have enough to last till we reach the buffalo.

Saw one beating something with a stick went to him and he had killed a rattlesnake.

Tues. 6.—Stopped to dine and bait our animals a little distance from the Caw Village. Here the Indians remained with their oxen.

Many came from the Village to trade and it was with great difficulty that we could prevent their dogs from devouring our bacon. Just as we were ready to remove it commenced raining but we proceeded and the rain soon ceased the sun shone and dried us.

Wedn. 7.—Came safe to camp on the little Vermillion which is what I should call a large brook.

Thurs. 8.—Milton Sublet [Sublette] returned this morning on account of lameness which detained us till 10 o'clock. Wrote a few words to D. Patten Middleton. Was very sorry to have him leave us for he is a clever man and far better acquainted with the route and with Indians' character and customs than any man in company.

Are now on a stream about as large as the little Vermillion and I think is called black Vermillion.

Friday 9.—Encamped on a brook in a beautiful place. Here the first deer was killed.

Sat. 10.—Got out of the trail, dined on the Big Vermillion went back about a mile crossed came about 4 m. and camped on the Prairie.

Sun. 11.—Decamped early this morning but lost the trail came to a stop about 11 o'clock. Capt. Thing took an observation and found we were $40^{\circ} 18'$ N. Lat. This has been spent in a manner not at all congenial with my wishes.

Traveling, labouring to take care of the animals by all and cursing and shooting &c by the Com.

Read some of the Psalms and thought truly my feelings in some measure accorded with David's when he longed so much for the House of God.

I have found very little time for reading, writing or meditation since reached Liberty for I was almost momentarily employed in making preparations previous to leaving the civilized world and we now find constant employment from daylight till it is time to decamp and then I am engaged in driving cows till we camp, to pitch our tent and make all necessary arrangements for the night fills up the residue of the day.

But still we find a few moments to call our little family together and commend ourselves to God.

May.—Mon. 12.—This morning the Capt. commenced mending hobbles and we did not expect to decamp till towards

night. While I was writing in my Journal the word came that two cows were gone one of them ours. Bro. Edwards and myself caught our horses to hunt them and started in haste on our back track judging that our cow had returned where we killed her calf yesterday distant I suppose about 10 m. all undulating or open Prairie except a few trees and shrubs on a little creek. It was with some difficulty that we could keep the trail as there was no mark except what was made by our party. When we arrived near where the calf was killed we saw the cows about two miles ahead and urging their way onward, we took a direct course and proceeded with all speed until we came up with them and began our return at 11 o'clock. We left camp in a great hurry without compass telescope or food. When we began to consider on it we thought it probable that the Capt. would leave by 12 o'clock and felt anxious to return as speedily as possible. We were on no trace we started but thought we should strike it soon. We did not travel far before we struck a trail which we took for granted was ours and followed it.

Having proceeded far enough to reach a certain creek we crossed and not finding it caused me to believe what I had before feared: that we were following Wm. Sublette's trail who we were sure was not far behind us.

The different portions of the prairie so much resemble each other that it is impossible for those who [are] not acquainted with them not to be deceived by them.

Though we became convinced that we were on Sublette's trail yet we thought we had better proceed as we should be likely to find him before dark. Saw eight elk $\frac{1}{2}$ a m. distant which were the first we saw. Soon after we left camp the company having found Sublette's trail 2 m. off decamped. We saw two [men] at a distance pursuing us. As we were in the Pawnee country we thought it probable that they were Indians. As they could overtake us in a short time any way we concluded to wait their arrival and in the meantime milk the cow for dinner. While we were thus engaged we saw

three others from a little different direction approaching and we now began to think sure enough that they were Pawnees. We finished our milk in [time] to mount and pursue our course before they were near enough to discern whether they were red or white. We resolved we would not run but move on as usual and we soon saw they were of our own party pursuing us to [find] out who we were. Here we see clearly the hand of Providence in bringing us in a way that we knew not of for the Com. was but a mile or two in our [rear] and their march was so crooked that they thought it would have been nearly impossible for us to have followed them if we had returned where we left them.

How mysterious are the ways of Providence and how thankful ought we to be for all His mercies. O, Lord God, write laws of gratitude on our hearts and may we love Thee with our whole souls. Amen and Amen.

Tuesday 13.—Last night did not stake the horses. About 1 o'clock they took fright and nearly all ran with all speed with their hobbles on. The guard and others pursued them and soon came back with two-thirds of them but ours were nearly all gone still. I went out about a m. and a half found 9 of the Capt's. The others were all found four m. from Camp in the morning except two of the Captain's.

Three of the Otto [Otoe] Indians came into camp this morning—were very friendly but we strongly suspect that they stole the horses that were lost.

Wednesday, May 14.—Encamped on a branch of the Blue a large Brook clear good water.

Capt. Thing took a lunar observation and found we were 97° 7' West from Greenwich London.

We decamp about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock stop about 2 hours at noon and camp about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Make nearly 50 m. per day which is as much as the horses can endure for they are heavily loaded and the grass for two or three days has been poor.

Thurs. 15.—Encamped on the Blue. Mr. Walker¹ caught

¹ Courtney M. Walker.

two cat fish which were very palatable as we had plenty of bacon to cook them. Saw a number of antelope the hunters killed two.

Frid. 16.—Came about 20 m. to day. Saw an Indian trail about a week old where a large party had passed. Crossed the Pawnee trail just before we camped it is worn by travel so that it appears like a wagon road. They had just passed and I perc[e]ive our camp is arranged with more care than usual.

Sat. May 17, 1834.—Started this morning at 7 o'clock. Made a severe march of 9 hours from the Blue to the Platte. Left the main Blue on the left hand, crossed a small branch or brook and having left the trail on the right we came by compass N. W. till we found the trail of Mr. Wm. Sublet after marching say 15 m. We then took nearly a W. course soon found the old waggon trail saw some small sand Hills a mile distant and as we approached them saw the timber on the banks of Platte. Came a few m. up and encamped the first place where we could find good grass and wood. Mr. Walker caught a cat fish. We came to day 15 m. N. W. and 10 m. W. Total 25 m.

Sun. May 18.— $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 O-c. A. M.—The rain has been falling gently since about midnight which is the [first] we have had since the 6th except occasionally [a] few drops though we have been traveling over what is considered a rainy country.

This seems more like Sabbath than any we have passed since we left the settlements. The rain prevents the men from being out hallooing cursing and shooting. Can it be that such men believe that the day will come when the Omnipotent Jehovah "will judge all men in righteousness by that Man whom He hath ordained whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised him from the dead?" I have no doubt that many are complete Infidels who have taken but very little thought on the subject. They know that if future rewards and punishments await mankind that the

scenes which await them as individuals unless their characters are changed (of which they see little prospect) are appalling indeed and ardently and vehemently desiring that it may not be so they by the assistance of Satan easily persuade themselves that a compassionate God will make some more merciful disposition of man than to punish him forever though he may have done wrong and they soon persuade themselves that Christianity can not be true according to that system apparently few will be saved. However I have no doubt that and the Holy Ghost lift up their voices leave the sinner but little firmness in his belief till the one is seared and the other grieved.

While writing the above orders were given to prepare for marching.

We packed in the rain and marched 5 hours and encamped in a small spot of wood plenty of grass for the animals.

Mon. 19.—Started at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock A. M. After marching a few miles saw two men horseback some miles distant approaching us. When they arrived near enough to survey our Company they halted and the Capt. and others went out and spoke to them.

They were two Pawnees and made signs that their party was just behind us and would overtake us tomorrow but they will not if we can avoid it for the Capt. intends to make a forced march to keep ahead of them. We are on the bank of the Platte waiting about an hour to bait the horses and get a bite of dinner. The Pawnees are generally counted a treacherous tribe and the traders fear such more than those who are decidedly hostile because when they pretend friendship they only wait an opportunity to betray.

Tues., May 20.—Marched about 26 m. yesterday and as many to day. Saw a band of Elk this afternoon and the Capt. started full speed on horseback after them but his horse was not fleet enough to come up with them but they ran so near the Com. that they frightened the loose horses and they took their back track and ran as fast as they could and the

Capt. and others after them all have returned but the Capt. and one other saw buffalo on the opposite side of this river say 200.

Wednes. 21.—The Capt. returned about 11 o'clock last evening with all the horses but two which he lost not being able to run them down having followed them about 25 m. and tired those they rode.

Traveled say 26 m. to day. The Indians have not overtaken us and we are confident they cannot with their Families and they take them along when they go to [the] Buffaloe [country]. Saw at least thousands of Buffaloe to day some were killed by the men they are very good if fat. I think preferable to beef. The bottom lands along the river are literally black with them for miles. We killed our cow this morning before we saw the Buffaloe and paid the Capt. what we owed him and let him have all except what we wanted ourselves.

May 20.—Some Pawnees Loup Indians came to camp. Their camp is a day and a half march on the opposite side.

Wednes. 21.—Traveled about 20 m. and encamped as usual on the bank of the Platte. There were several buffaloe kil[l]ed to day by the hunters and others.

Thursday 22.—Were obliged to throw away good fat beef because it would not keep sweet any longer but we [have] plenty of buffalo. There are some Free trappers as they are called with us but we have agreed to do our part [of the] hunting and each mess share the spoil equally.

Fri. 23.—Went out with the hunters this morning to learn to kill buffaloe. They intended to kill one for breakfast but it being cold and windy they had retreated to the hills some 3 or 4 m. and thither we followed them and with a great deal of labour we succeeded in killing 3 and wounded as many more.

We became thirsty not having tasted food or water during the day and the hunters soon supplied themselves and invited [us] to partake with them of what they called cider but I choose not to participate in their beverage. It consisted of

water drawn from the paunch of the buffaloe by taping but it was too thick with the excrement to please my fancy though they affirmed with oaths that it was very good. Only a small part of the buffaloe is considered good for food. When they fleece it as they term it they cut the skin on the back and skin down the sides far enough to turn out the shoulder and then take the flesh off the ribs which with the tongue, the heart, the marrow bones and the hump ribs is all they use when meat is plenty. Arrived in camp just before sunset.

Sat. 24.—This morning forded the south fork of the Platte without accident except one man lost his gun. We have marched six days on the Platte. It is say a mile wide very shallow swift current and very turbid indeed so that when the wind blows it has the appearance of sand—it is almost thick with sand if you leave it a short time in a vessel the bottom will be covered with it. Its bed is sand and very soft. The country along the shores is as beautiful as I ever saw. The bottom land is say from 3 to 5 m. wide skirted with sand hills of all heights up to 50 or 60 or 100 ft. Crossed the hills and in a few hours reached the North Fork of the Platte. Saw no buffaloe to day.

Sun. 25, May.—Passed a most picturesque country A. M. High Bluffs and deep ravines some of which it was difficult to pass with loaded [animals]. Saw a natural bridge across a ravine but had not time to examine it. A fine spring of water bursting from the hills was now [a] pleasant sight for they are few and far between. While I was journeying along my mind reverted to the past privileges I have enjoyed in the Sanctuary of God and could truly say that I longed exceedingly for the house of God but instead of listening to the word of life flowing from the lips of the Heralds of Salvation I am doomed to labour on and hear little but cursing and shooting &c.

Very few of the company know when the Sabbath rolls around except reminded of it. I feel a lack in my own mind, a want [of] a closer walk with him whom my soul loveth, a

more free and constant communion with the Author of all happiness. O, Lord my God make me spiritually minded which is life and peace.

Mon. 26.—Came about 25 ms. today. Saw no buffaloe and the Capt. was obliged to kill a steer for food. The land on this Fork is very different from that on the other, consisting mostly of sand capable of producing a little grass, some weeds, &c, but unfit for cultivation.

Tues. 27.—For a warm dry day never did I travel in such a disagreeable one. The wind was so strong that it was with great difficulty that I could make headway when on foot, and it was of course very severe on the horses.

The bottom of the vessels which contained our dinner was covered with sand and those who eat most dinner eat most sand, and it was driven with such force that it made the face tingle, and in such quantities that it had the appearance of snow driven before the wind at a distance. We have no wood and are obliged to substitute buffaloe dung which makes a very good fire but does not last long and has a disagreeable smell.

Wednes. 28, May 1834.—It being my guard I was called at 2 o'clock this morning and am persuaded that it was the coldest morning I have seen since we left the settlements. Daniel¹ went out with the hunters and brought in a load of buffaloe meat which was very acceptable to the Company for some of them have had a rather scanty portion for a day or so, but we have had a plenty though we take our share with the others and do our part of hunting but we have the milk of two cows and a little corn and flour which helps us much. The hunters came in with plenty of meat. Saw some bands of wild horses but did not get near. The hunters shot a wild horse with the intention of bringing it in for food but finding buffaloe they abandoned it.

One of the Indians while out hunting saw six Indians with horses two with guns and four with bows and arrows, prob-

¹ Daniel Lee, a cousin of Jason Lee.

ably Pawnees. We are encamped opposite a large rock which has the appearance at a distance of an old castle. From the looks of it not considering the deception of the level prairie and the size I should think it half a m. distant but Professor Nuttall [Nuttall] has been out and says it is at least 5 m. The Thermometer stands at 202° in boiling water.

Thurs. 29—Have seen plenty of buffaloe to-day but the hunters did not go out having food enough in camp. It is now 12 o'clock and we are preparing dinner nearly opposite what is called the Chimney¹ and about 2 m. distant Lat. $41^{\circ} 51'$ North.

It was cold this morning so that it produced a hard frost but is very warm now. There is more difference in temperature of day and night here I think than in New England generally. We have made $5\frac{1}{2}$ days march from the ford of the South Branch of the Chimney.

The Chimney is very appropriately named. The appearance of it at a distance is similar to that of a chimney where the house has been burnt but on a nearer approach you discover that it is a huge mass of a conical form about half its height and runs up precisely like a chimney to the top [its height] say 150 or 200 feet. Curiosity prompted me to go and examine it but pity to my horse prevented.

Fri. May 30, 1834.—This day passed Scott's Bluff which received its [name] from this circumstance—

A Mr. Scott superintendent of General Ashley's fur Company, was taken delirious in the Black Hills but at lucid intervals expressed a great desire to go home to die and the[y] thought it best to make a boat of skins and send him down the Platte some distance by water where the Com. if they arrived first were to await their arrival. Two men were sent with him but they were upset in rapids and narrowly escaped being drowned and lost their guns and everything but one knife and a horn of powder. The leader of the Com. did not stop for them and it was with the greatest difficulty that the

¹ Chimney Rock.

men could find enough to subsist on until they overtook the Com. Their report was that he died and they buried him but his bones and blanket were found a 100 mi. from the place they said he had died and near the Bluff. As we approached the Bluff we passed a ravine in some places say 60 feet and of various depth formed in the level plain wholly by the action of water. The Bluffs have a most beautiful appearance being diverse in their height and size. One resembles the cupola of a church. One near which we passed rises say 200 feet nearly perpendicular and consists of different strata of hard clay and rock. A few scattering red cedars decorated the sides of the stupendous hills. Some of us passed some very deep ravines but the company turning short to the right as soon as they passed the notch avoided them.

Sat. 31.—Passed some barren sand hills and traveled over some good bottom lands. The sight of green trees on the river bank was truly delightful. For some days we have been able to find driftwood enough to cook with but to be permitted to encamp beside a beautiful grove of timber is truly exhilarating. Seven Buffaloe were killed to-day. Thus the hand of Providence supplies us with daily food and gives health to enjoy it. We dined Lat. 42°—10'.

Sunday, June 1, 1834.—Started about the usual [time] and arrived at Laramas [Laramie's] Fork and forded it without difficulty before dinner. It receives its name from the circumstance that a man by that name was killed by the Indians on that Branch. This stream is generally very difficult to cross, it being very rapid. Some of Sublett's men who are building a Trading Fort a little distance came to us they are planting corn. Three of our party Free Trappers left us here with the intention to catch Beaver in the Black Hills and thus they expose themselves their lives yea they run greater risks for a few Beaver skins than we do to save souls and yet some who call themselves Christians "tell it not in Gath" would have persuaded us to abandon our enterprize because of the *danger*

which attended it. Often does the following stanzas rush into my mind :

The sound of the church going bell,
These vallies and rocks never heard,
Never sighed at the sound of a knell,
Or smiled when a Sabbath appeared.'

But blessed be God I rejoice to see the return of a Christian Sabbath though deprived of sanctuary privileges.

On this day ten thousand fervent prayers ascend the throne of grace for Missionary and Mission operations and how can we but rejoice to witness its return. May that time soon come when we shall enjoy the privileges of God's house on the western decline of the Rocky Mountains. I already long to hear from my dear friends in the east but am doomed to wait many long months before I can know anything of what is transpiring among those I love. We have very little prospect of doing any good among those with [whom] we journey. Our time while in Camp being almost entirely taken up in taking care of our things horses cooking &c. so that it is with difficulty we find time to write a little in the journal.

Mon. June 2, 1834.—We encamped last night near a beautiful grove of white ash. We have passed some groves of Cottonwood which is far more prevalent than any other in this part of the Country. We have been climbing the Black Hills which extend some distance South and North to the Missouri and forms the falls of that River. I think they receive their name from their dark appearance occasioned by small pine and cedar scattered over them. They make a very beautiful appearance. Dined on a beautiful little stream of *clear* water which is the first we have seen for hundreds of miles. Marched late and encamped in a small grove and little grass. Begun to see the snow capped Mountains which to me are a most welcome sight.

Have been afflicted with a diorhae to-day.

Tues. Ju. 3.—Started early this morning and came 15 m. before we could find grass and dined on the bank of the

Platte. Started down the bank of the River under the Bluff but could not find a pass and were obliged [to] ascend the Hill and make our way for some miles over hills and through ravines by far worse than any we have passed before.

Wednes. June 4, 1834.—This morning forded the north fork of the Platte with safety scarcely wetting a bail which is seldom known to be fordable at this season. Thus kind Providence smooths our way before us. Thus we came two days and a half march on this Fork previous to crossing. Searched diligently in a grove of Cottonwood for a tent pole but could find none to please me except a cedar which had drifted down the river.

Thursday 5.—The wind blew so hard that every tent except ours blew down and it was with the utmost difficulty that we could prevent it from falling but we succeeded and eat our breakfast in it. It was very difficult packing this morning on account of the wind, but we were enabled to make a good days march though it was rather disagree[e]able.

Friday, 6.—It commenced raining just as the word was given to catch up the horses and made very disagreeable packing but rained little and soon cleared away and we were favored with a fine day.

Sat. June 7, 1834.—Arrived before dinner opposite the red Buttes which is the point where we leave the old Platte, having been on its waters 21 days. The land on this Fork is broken and consists of sandy plains and sand hills and rugged mountains totally unfit I think for cultivation. A few willows some Buffaloe bushes and some cotton trees a few scrub[b]y pine and cedar are all the timber I have seen.

Mon. June 9.—Yesterday decamped soon after sunrise and made one long march and encamped on a little brook where we found good grass but short. Was engaged in driving cattle and they were so weary that it was with great difficulty that we got them along. Business so occupied my time that I only found opportunity to read a little in my Bible but not to write in my Journal. I think that I enjoyed less communion with

my Heavenly Father than any Sabbath since I left Sabbath and Sanctuary privileges. May the Good Lord quicken me.

Dined at Rock Independence, which stands by itself on a prairie and is say $\frac{1}{4}$ of a m. in length $\frac{1}{8}$ in breadth 75 ft. high without herbage it being a naked rock of granite. Within a few yards of this rock flows the waters of a small clear stream called Sweet Water.

Found good grass this evening which is a matter of rejoicing and thankfulness for our poor Horses were nearly starved. On either side of the plain which is some miles in diameter curious Mountains rear their stately heads. They are the most barren I ever saw. They are detached ranges of the Rocky M. and if the main range is similar they are most appropriately named.

Tues. June 10.—Was called last night at 11 o'clock to take charge of my guard it being my middle watch. The wind blew almost a hurricane and it was so cold that it was impossible to keep comfortable with a great coat but the wind subsided between 12 and 1 o'clock. Though I found some communion with God yet I was when 2 o'clock came I relieved from guard. Frost this morning but quite hot at noon. The Capt. sent an express to the Redevous [Rendezvous] this morning. Followed the river part of the way but some times it winds its way through the cragged Mountains. The land here is much the same as it has been for some days past consisting chiefly of sand except some spots on the bank of the River. It produces wild sage plentifully some of it is from four to five feet high three or four inches through but is too bitter for tea.

We cooked our dinner with its stocks. We are just at the base of a huge M. of granite.

Wednes. 11.—Was constantly engaged in repairing halters fixing the horses shoes &c. until time to pack up. There is more to be done on such an expedition as this [than] any one could possibly think who has never tried it.

The provision is getting short in Camp some have had very

little to-day and we have eaten our last Buffaloe meat for dinner except some we have dried in case of emergency. Have been leading the Camp for the Capt. this morning and he has gone ahead to kill meat. When we soped [stopped] here it was calm but now the sand flies so that it is almost impossible to write. I must leave writing to take care that the things do not blow away. Shot an Elk this P. M. which was very acceptable as some had eaten little for two days they said. Elk is not considered good meat except very fat. Through the goodness and mercy of God we have had plenty. O that our gratitude may keep pace with his mercies. Bless the Lord I think I do feel thankful for his goodness to me. Glory to God in the highest he feeds me both with corporeal and with spiritual food. Amen. Inste[a]d of taking a due west course as we should have done we followed the River by consequence lost our A. M. march.

Thurs. June 12.—Went out with the hunters this morning. They killed a Buffaloe and caught a young Antelope and a Buffalo calf. Saw plenty Buffaloe to-day and killed a supply.

Friday June 13, 1834.—Went with the hunters and while trying to kill a Buffaloe one of our cows & one [of] the Capts that had been left to follow came near us and having lost the Company were steering for the Band of Buffaloe and we should probably have lost them if we had not been behind the Company. Left the Sweet Water this morning [turned] to the left and soon after lost Sublet's trail. After noon went out and brought in a piece of meat to dry and some for the Company. Encamped on a branch of the Sweet Water. The grass is very short and the horses are failing fast. The alcohol was handed out freely by the Capt. which soon made some of the crew quite merry. Some quarreled in the night through the effects of it. Would to God that the time may come soon when its use shall be entirely abandoned except as a medicine.

Sat. J. 14, 1934.—Took the lead of Camp while the Capt.

went to see if he could ascertain where he passed when he went out before.

Dined on a spring of as good water as I ever drank. The Buffaloe have eaten nearly all the grass.

Remained behind the Company to assist in butchering a Buffaloe and carrying in meat that I need not have to go out to hunt on the Sabbath, w[h]ich is our day in regular rotation. Was obliged to ride fast to overtake the Com. About 5 m. I think from where we dined we crossed the main Sweet Water. Rode about 5 m. farther and came up with rear of the Com.

One of our horses tired and though he had carried nothing but his saddle that day we could not get him along and were forced to leave in the Prairie where was but very little grass with very little expectation of seeing him again which we regretted as we knew one would have to walk in consequence until we reached Rendevous. The cattle nearly failed and fell some miles behind.

Night drew on fast and no water nor grass. I could have easily overtaken the foremost part of the Company but chose to remain with Brothers Shepard and D. Lee and Mr. Abot and try to keep the trail after night should come on but it [was] impossible as we were in a country of wild sages which are so large that they impede the progress of the horses and also covered with Buffaloe paths which we sometimes mistake for the trail even in daylight. Ten o'clock came to a dry creek as they call in this country and finding a little grass we concluded to encamp. We cooked no supper for two reasons first because of the labour and time necessary to do it and secondly because we were in the most dangerous part of the Indian country and a light might attract them. We tied our horses milked the cows and drank the milk and lay down to repose feeling safe in the [care of Him] who controlleth all things.

It rained a little but not enough to wet through our blankets. Awoke just at daylight after a night's sweet repose

and found all safe. Soon ascertained that the Com. were not more than a mile and a half distant but thought we would have breakfast before we decamped. Roasted Buffaloe meat and poor water made our rich repast and I am persuaded that *none* even in New England eat a more palatable or wholesome meal. We feel not want of bread and I am more healthy than I have been for some years. Came to camp and when we learned that 12 o'clock was the hour for starting, Mr. Walker and myself saddled two of [the] ablest horses and went for the one we left and found [him] about six miles distant within 15 rods of where we left him and drove him into camp. Think we shall save him if we reach Rendevous soon.

Sun. 15.—Decamped near 1 o'clock and crossed a branch of Sandy River which runs [a] south west course and empties into Green River which discharges its waters into the Colorado and through that into the Gulf of California. Here we are now on the height of Land the dividing ridge between the Atlantic and Pacific. Our rise has been gradual most of the way and we have not ascended any such Mountains as I anticipated having passed along on the Prairies at their base.

The Rocky Mountains with their summits and parts of their sides clad in eternal snow presents to the eye of the traveler a most grand beautiful and sublime appearance. It rained a little soon after we started but the sun shone again in a short time. Gave my horse to Mr. Walker and went on foot. He was hindered and I was caught in a shower of rain and snow and hail found it rather cold. Passed some singular mountains one resembles a hay stack which we left on our left hand.

Encamped on the Main Sandy. Was that weary when we had arranged our things that I lay down on the grass and slept two hours of the Lord's day. O, how my soul longs for the ordinances of God's house. Shall I ever enjoy them again in that land of privileges which I have left far behind? The Lord only knows and his righteous will (I would say in perfect submission) be done.

Mon. June 16, 1834.—Followed down Sandy and could find no grass until 2 o'clock and then very poor. Sunday we traveled near W. and this P. M. S. E. and I judge we are not more than 10 m. from where we encamped on the night of the 14th. The Capt. has heard nothing from his express nor from Rendevous and hence he is wandering about not knowing whether he is going to or from it. Two hunters went out on the 11th and we have heard nothing from them since. What has become of them we cannot tell but think they are lost or the Indians have found them. We are extremely anxious to know their fate but have no means of ascertaining. Was on guard the first watch.

I think this River is rightly named for the Prairies on both sides of it are sand producing only a little sage and a few spires of grass and a few trees and willow bushes occasionally on the bottoms. The horses are failing fast for want of food more than through excess of labour though that is very severe.

Some of the Com. saw two men belonging to American Fur Com. on the 17th.

Tues. June 17, 1834.—This day followed down Sandy but find the grass no better. The hunters came in at noon they have been lost and looking in every direction for us. We are encamped on a dry sand plain where there is no grass except a few scattering spires but the opinion is that we are within 10 miles of Rendevous where we shall find plenty. The horses are nearly wore down but the mules stand it well and are in as good flesh as when we started. The Capt. has just started in search of Rendevous. I find myself quite weary and shall be glad of a few days rest but the animals need it far more than the men.

Though we have but little and no bread in fact nothing but Buffaloe meat and a little tea and coffee yet we suffer no inconvenience whatever by not having the variety we were wont to have formerly but I think derive benefit from it. There are many things which men accustom themselves to use which [are] deleterious.

Wednes. June 18.—I o'clock P. M. Though we have come 10 m. yet we have not found Rendevous nor the Capt. Have found a bottom where the grass is a little better. The plains are so dry that the dust rises in clouds where horses pass and makes very disagreeable traveling.

It gives me pleasure to reflect that we are descending towards the vast Pacific. With the blessing and preservation of the Almighty we shall soon stand upon the shores which have resisted the fury of the proud swelling waves of the mighty Pacific from time immemorial. O, Thou God of love give us still thine aid for without *thee* we can do nothing.

Made a short march and came to a fine bottom of grass. The man who went with the Capt. has returned also the one he sent out on express.

Thrs. Ju. 19.—Met the Capt. about 12 o'clock near the Forks of Sandy and Green Rivers. Dined and on the banks of Green R. P. M. crossed and encamped on the shore grass pretty good. Here met an Indian Free Trapper w[h]ich is the first Indian we have seen since we saw the Pawnee Loups before crossing the main Platte.

Friday June 20, 1834.—Daniel was very sick last night being in extreme pain and could take no rest or peace until Bro. Shepard bathed his feet in hot water and put hot flannel on his back and bowels. His sickness was occasioned by bathing in cold water I think. He is just able to ride to-day. Started with the hunters ahead of the Comp. and one of them wounded a Buffaloe in the shoulder and after they had run $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. we concluded to give them chase and set off one of them came up before me with the Buffalo but could not get his gun off. I rode within a few yards of the Buf and gave her a deadly shot so that she fell in the spot where she stood. We soon dressed her and loaded most of her on our horses and pursued the Com. which was now some miles ahead. Come up with the Com. near 12 o'clock and continued our march till 4, when we reached a small stream called Ham's Fork

which empties into the Colorado or what is called here for some distance the Green River.

We call this Rendevous or the place where all the Companies in the Mountains or in this section of them have fixed upon to meet for the transaction of business.

Some of the companies have not come in, yet most of them are a mile above us on the same creek. They threatened that when we came they would give them Missionaries "hell" and Capt. W. informed us and advised us to be on our guard and give them no offense and if molested to show no symptoms of fear and if difficulty did arise we might depend upon his aid for he never forsook any one who had put himself under his protection.

I replied I was much obliged to him. I *feared* no man and apprehended no danger from them when sober and when drunk we would endeavor to [keep] out of their way. I judged it best however to go immediately to their camp and get an introduction to them while sober and soon as possible went accompanied by the Capt. Found Wm. Sublett and was warmly received with all that gentlemanly politeness which has always characterized his conduct towards me. Sup[p]ed with him. Was introduced to those who had threatened us and spent some time in conversation with them on the difficulties of the route, changes of habit and various topics and made such a favorable impression on them and was tre[a]ted with such politeness by all that I came away fully satisfied that they would neither molest us themselves nor suffer their men to do so without cause. How easy for the Lord to disconcert the most malicious and deep laid plans of the devil.

Without thy permission O, Lord no weapon formed against thy servants shall prosper in thee will I put my trust and feel safe in thy hands. Some of the men told the Pierced Nose and Flat Head Indians our object in coming into the country and they came and shook hands very cordially and seemed to welcome me to their country.

Sat. Ju. 21.—Felt more like laying down and resting than

writing or work. Have had a visit from some 10 or 12 Pierced Nose and 1 or 2 Flat Heads to-day and conversed a little with them through an indifferent interpreter.

But being buisy arranging our things we requested them to come again when we were more at leisure. A man who has just come from Wallah Wallah gave us some encouraging information. Blessed be God I feel more and more to rejoice I was ever counted worthy to carry the glad news of salvation to the far western world.

Sunday, Ju. 22.—Was called this morning at 2 o'clock it being my morning guard but having men enough to guard the horses and finding the atmosphere very cold I sat most of the time in the tent.

Felt very stupid after breakfast. Tried to read my Bible but fell asleep and took a long nap. Soon after I awoke as many Indians as could enter our tent came to see us and we told them our object in coming showed them the Bible told them some of the commandments and how they were given to all of which they listened with the utmost attention and then replied that it was all good. They enquired if we could build houses and said that the Indians at Walla wallah gave horses to a white man to build them a house and when he got the horses he went off and did not build it. We of course expressed our strong disapprobation of his conduct. They said if we could build a house for them they would catch plenty of Beaver for us which we take as a favourable indication showing their desire for improvement. One said he was going to St. Louis next year but he would leave his three children with his friends who was present and he would give them to us that we might teach them to read and write and be good.

Some of them shook hands very heartily when the[y] left.

One of the men went to purchase meat of the Indians but they would not bring it to him because it was Sunday. Thus while the whites who have been educated in a Christian land pay no regard whatever to the Sabbath these poor savages who have at most only some vague idea of the Christian relig-

ion respect the Sabbath of the Lord our God. Though we might have a congregation of some hundreds of whites to preach to to-day if they were disposed to hear yet we have no doubt if [we] were to propose such a thing that it would be rejected with disdain and perhaps with abuse, for all hands nearly are employed [in] trading drinking or some such innocent amusement. My God My God ' there nothing that will have any effect upon them?

Lord of heaven and earth move by thy Spirit upon their hearts and cause the penitential tear to flow.

Mon. June 23.—Bro. Shepard washed for us which is the first of any account that we have had done since we left and I have clean clothes yet. Went to Mr. Sublett's Camp to see about purchasing a mule of Mr. Trapp [Frappe]. Heard the Indians in one lodge praying and singing went to listen to them but they were just closing as we approached. How encouraging to see these red men thus religiously inclined. Soon after dark a fire was built in the Prairie for the purpose of a war dance. One with a thing that answered for a drum stood near the fire and sung with others. While the three half-breeds who were all that joined in the war dance were making preparations the whites made themselves perfectly ridiculous by jumping about the fire trying to imitate the Indian dance while none but the little boys would join them. At length they came and went through their dance which was rather interesting especially that part where they killed and scalped one and went off with the gun in triumph.

Slept with Mr. Sublette and returned in the morning.

June 24, Tues.—Purchased some things of the Indians and a mule of Mr. Frapp. Paid in red cloth at 100 per cent \$55.00. Found that our red cloth was minus 12 yds.

Wednes. June 25.—Removed 10 mi. up the creek and after taking care of the things commenced writing letters in good earnest, but found it very hard to bring my mind to the work.

Thursday 26.—Made some repairs on saddles &c, and wrote some letters.

Fri. June 27.—Copied a long communication for the Advocate. Found peace in believing.

Sat. June 28.—31 years of my almost useless life are like a fable gone. Once I sincerely wished that I had never seen the light but bless the Lord it is otherwise with me now and I thank God that I was ever born of the flesh that I might be born of the spirit. It is hardly probable that I shall see 31 years more but be that as it may I trust that the residue of my days will be spent more to the glory of God and the good of the world than those that have already passed. O my God help me to redeem time. It seems that I am doing *nothing* and under existing circumstances *can* do nothing for thee; Lord open a door for usefulness and give me a heart to labour to promote thy glory and the ultimate salvation of my fellow creatures.

Sunday, June 29.—This day seems more like Sabbath than any since I left St. Louis, and though far from God's visible Temple and the soul cheering and spirit exhilarating ordinances of his house yet he whose presence fills the temple and gives it all its charms and all its attractions is *here* and "He makes our paradise. And where he is is heaven."

Mon. June 30, 1834.—Laboured hard making halters of Buffalo hide and though it was my first attempt yet I succeeded in making two I think preferable to any that I have seen. Finished some of my letters. While writing past scenes came fresh to my recollection and cases [causes] me to wish to hear from my friends.

Tues. July 1, 1834.—This day sealed a long communication to the Editors of the Advocate one to Dr. Fisk one to Dr. Bangs one to Bro. Tabor and one to Sister Achash (?) and carried them down to Wm. Sublette's Camp and he kindly took charge of them. May they safely reach those for whom they are designed. Took my leave of Mr. Sublette and Mr. Fitzpatrick & Christie and they all wished me success expressing a hope that we might [meet] again in this country. But

in what they wished me success I know not as some of [them] at least are opposed to our enterprise.

Wednes. July 2, 1834.—Arose this morning at 2 o'clock it being my guard and after placing the guard lighted a candle and wrote a letter to Bro. Finley and one to Br. Sehon (?) and sent them by Mr. Greenow.

Left Rendevous rather late being detained on account of some horses that had run away. Had been quite long enough in Camp and glad to pursue out journey. A band of Indians No. Pierce and Flat Heads came with and camped with us on Ham's Fork. They are on their way to the Flat Head camp.

* * * *

Friday, July 4, 1834.—Just as we were on the point of starting the Indians came and informed us that they were about to leave us and wished to know if we intended to come back and stop with the Flat Head Camp. We told them we could not say positively now we did not know as we could find their Camp.

I asked them if they would like to have their children learn to read &c one said he would give me his. Some said they would like [to] learn to cultivate land.

And they seemed desirous that we should locate among *them*. I told them if they came where Capt. Wyeth purposed to build up [a] Fort that if it were not too far I would go and see the Chief and talk with him about it and if we did not come this winter that we would come next or the following.

When we arrived at the place of separation they all shook hands with me in the most cordial hearty and friendly manner.

I was very much affected with this parting scene. Lord direct us in our choice of a location. O that these sons of nature may soon be the children of grace. Encamped on Muddy Creek. Some of the men caught some fine trout. This being the 4th of July the men must needs show their "Independance" and such another drunken crazy hooting quarrel-

ing fighting frolic I seldom witnessed. Yes, even in this western world ardent spirits is the bane of poor infatuated men. Here met Mr. Bonivill's¹ company on their way to St. Louis.

Sat. July 5, 1834.—Passed along the base of some very high Mountains, say 300 ft. high of a red hue. Crossed over to Bear River and came down it a few miles and camped. Lost two cruppers off of one mule.

Sun. July 6.—Had neglected writing for a day or two and had forgotten the day of the week.

Commenced making cruppers early and finished one before starting though we took a early start. It was not til we had traveled some miles that I found out that it was Sabbath and I could scarce make it seem like Sabbath all day.

Made a very long severe march crossed Bear River twice and came over some of the most mountainous country that we have crossed though not so difficult as some the ascent and descent being more gradual but they were some of them miles from the base to the summit and some places quite steep and thus they were ascending and descending for say 4 or 5 hours 'til we reach the bottom of Bear River where we camped.

Mon. July 7, 1834.—Started late from camp. Had difficulty in finding the cows which detained us til the company were two miles out. Came 4 mi. and overtook the comp. and discovered we had left one of our horses and were obliged to go back to Camp for him.

Made a short march and camped on Bear R.

Tuesday July 8.—Came along the banks of B. R. saw more beautiful little streams of clear water winding through the hills or more properly Mountains and emptying their waters into the River.

Buffaloe has been scarce and it has been difficult to procure enough for food for the Company though we have always had enough. The Capt. went to see Mr. Bonivill's camp but returned before night.

¹ Col. B. L. E. Bonneville.

Some miles before we came into [] began to observe volcanic appearances and soon discovered what I was satisfied was lava. Saw what [is] called here white clay but I think it is soft chalk.

There seems to be a large bed of it very white but could form no idea of the quantity.

Wednes. July 9, 1834.—Did not move camp was employed most of the day in repairing pack-saddles &c. A few yards from our camp is a curious spring called the Soda Spring. There are several places where it boils up within a few rods and though large quantities are thrown up it does not run off upon the surface but finds its way to the river underground where you can see it bubbling up in various places. The boiling in one place resembles very much the rapid boiling of water in a large chaldron the agitation being fully as great.

The water is evidently impregnated with gas it has and acid taste is rather pleasant and resembles very much the soda made from powders. There is another half a mile distant still more curious and astonishing. It [is] so warm that the thermometer stands at 90° in it. From an aperture in the rock or incrustation formed by the precipitation of particles from the water a large quantity is thrown several feet below into the River. It alternately spurts for a few seconds with considerable noise and flows more gently for the same length of time. A few feet distant is a hole of an inch in diameter where the atmosphere strongly impregnated with sulphur issues in a manner that strongly resembles respiration and with such force as to be heard several rods and is quite warm. A man on whom I can depend who visited the spring before I did said when the hole was stopped there was a cracking underneath resembling the report of a gun. The pressure was so great that I think I did not succeed in entirely preventing the escape of the air though I put a wet tuft of grass upon it and forced it in with my foot, but observed while the grass was closely pressed into the hole that the waters spurted with more

force and more constancy and when my foot was removed the grass was instantly raised.

These waters have evidently flowed out in many different places where large quantities of very curious rock has been formed by its precepitations upon moss grass &c. One place I noticed very particularly. The rock at the base is several yards in diameter and rises in a circular form to the height of say 5 ft. and is about that distance across the top the incrustation is a few inches thick at the top and the hollow is filled nearly up with earth. I have no doubt and am persuaded that no person who visits it can have doubt but that water once boiled from this chaldron but has long since found some other place for discharging itself.

Thurs. July 10.—Left Bear R. and pursued a north course over the hills and soon reached a small prairie, crossed some small streams or brooks. Passed Boniville's Camp. He is making meat. The country presents many volcanic appearances all the stone appear to have been burned. The Company killed a large griz[z]ly bear. I think there were twenty guns fired but know not how many balls hit him. They are a very hard creature to kill.

Fri. July 11, 1834.—Encamped last night on a small stream called Black Foot. The [stream] is very muddy and difficult to cross. Capt. McCay [Thos. McKay] formerly of the Hudson's Bay Company joined us on the 9th and intends to go with us to the place where the Capt. is to build his fort and there wait for his party. Saw a large band of buf. and rode up to them full speed but the dust flew in such clouds that I could not see to shoot with any accuracy and hence killed nothing but pursued and overtook three bulls one of which Cool-cooly shot and we took part of it to camp.

Sat. 12.—Encamped on the headwaters of Ross Fork. Daniel caught a fine string of trout.

Sun. 13.—Traveled only a short distance. Was glad to get a little rest on the Lord's day. The [men] are engaged playing

cards drinking swearing wrestling &c. May God have mercy upon them.

Mon. July 14.—Forded some bad creeks and camped about noon on the bank of Snake River as it called by the Mountain men but on the maps Lewis Fork.

The Capt. is gone to search for a Fort.

Tues. 14.—Started from the picket and came 4 or 5 m. and camped where the Capt. is going to build a Fort. Made an attempt for the first time to set horse shoes and I think succeeded very well but for want of proper tools found it a slow job. We are glad of a little rest on account of the animals.

Wednes. 16.—Sent out 12 hunters and Walker was among them with orders to remain out 12 days if they did not get their 12 spare animals they took out loaded sooner. The object is to procure meat to last down the Columbia. The men are engaged in building a horse pen. The Capt. thinks he shall be here a fortnight. It will seem long to me.

(To be continued)

DOCUMENT

CAPTAIN BLACK'S REPORT ON TAKING OF ASTORIA.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The contract for the sale of the possessions of the Pacific Fur Company at Astoria and in the interior country to the Northwest Company was made on October 16, 1813. The transfer may not have been actually consummated until the 23rd of this month. The British ship, of war that had been momentarily expected did not arrive until November 30. The following account of Captain Black's procedure in taking possession of Fort Astoria is taken from Chittenden's "History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West," Vol. I, pp. 22-3:

"On the 29th of October a large party set out for the interior to make a transfer of the various posts and of the property at each. Nothing of note transpired at Astoria, except the arrival on November 23rd of Alexander Stuart and Alexander Henry, until the 30th of that month, when the long expected war vessel hove in sight. It was the *Raccoon*, of twenty-six guns, commanded by Captain Black. This vessel, with the *Isaac Todd*, the frigate *Phoebe*, and the sloop of war *Cherub*, had sailed from Rio Janeiro on the 6th of July preceding with John McDonald, a partner of the Northwest Company, on board. The *Isaac Todd* had become separated from her company off Cape Horn, and had not since been seen. The other vessels arrived safely at the agreed rendezvous at the island of Juan Fernandez, and after waiting some time for the *Isaac Todd*, and hearing of the havoc which the American Commodore Porter was making among the British whalers, it was decided that the *Raccoon* should go alone with McDonald to Astoria, and that the other vessels should cruise after Porter. The *Raccoon* arrived in due time within the mouth of the Columbia.

"The officers and crew of the *Raccoon* had been led to suppose that a valuable prize awaited them at the end of their long cruise. When they found that the post and property had been sold to British subjects they were greatly chagrined and disappointed. Captain Black, it is said, even threatened to bring suit for their recovery, but the threat, if made, was not carried out.

"If Captain Black was crestfallen at losing a valuable prize, he was disgusted when he beheld the character of the fort which he had been sent half way around the world to capture. He exclaimed with ill-concealed contempt: 'Is this the fort about which I have heard so much talking? D—n me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder!'

"Captain Black, with a retinue of officers, landed at Astoria late on the night of December 12th, and after dinner on the 13th he took formal possession of the fort in the name of the British King, and rechristened it Fort George. The disappointed captain, could he have foreseen the future, would not have felt ashamed of this day of small things. He had done what no British sailor had ever done before—in taking possession of this fort he had saved an empire to his country."—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

Raccoon, Columbia River
15 December, 1813.

Sir:

Agreeable to order from Captain Hillyer, I succeeded in entering Columbia River, in Majesty's Sloop *Raccoon*, Novr. 30, 1813 found party of North West Company here, who had made arrangements with the American party before my arrival.

Country and fort I have taken possession of in name and for British Majesty latter I have named Fort George and left in possession and charge North West Company.

Enemies party quite broke up they have no settlement whatever on this River or Coast.

Enemies vessel said on Coast and about [Sandwich] Islands. while Provisions last shall endeavour to destroy them. Weather here set in very bad.

Left Phoebe and Cherub Longitude $82^{\circ} 20'$ W, Latitude $40^{\circ} 33'$ S. well. Consort parted from Squadron before reaching Cape Horn, not yet arrived. Natives appear well disposed toward English.

Sir,

Your Obedt Servt
W. Black

To John Wilson Croker, Esq.,
Secretary Admiralty,
London

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
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KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

(Continued from page 76, March Quarterly.)

Our governor has dispatched an express to California,¹⁴¹ hoping that the bearer of dispatches will find part of our Pacific squadron in San Francisco Bay, who may afford us protection till an express shall reach Washington and our hitherto too tardy government may give us security in the midst of the heathen. It is feared by many that the Jesuit priests were obsequious to the horrid massacre of Dr. Whitman and family.¹⁴² I hope to be able to send you the whole correspondence relative to this subject. By this unexpected providence, it is feared that every Protestant mission to the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains will be broken up. At least they must be discontinued for the present, while Romanism holds undisputed sway over all those savage minds. Should not this fact furnish an argument sufficiently powerful to arouse the sympathies of the friends of missions to new efforts in behalf of the degraded sons of the western plains and mountains, and especially as we trust the time is at the door when our national government will give protection to the lives of the missionaries of the churches? I will assure you, dear brother, as a philanthropist and a Christian minister, I earnestly desire and devoutly pray that our national government will lose no time in extending her excellent laws over our Territory.¹⁴³ Our laws, although as much respected as could reasonably be expected, are inefficient in the punishment of crime. The public mind is unsettled constantly, hoping for a better and more complete code of laws; difficulties in relation to land claims will be multiplying and afford fruitful sources of litigation and our relations to the savages will be subject to repeated discon-

¹⁴¹ The overland passengers did not succeed in getting through to California. The letters to California were finally forwarded via the brig "Henry," which sailed after the above was written. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:679.

¹⁴² The long and unfortunate debate over the question of Catholic influence in the Whitman massacre is here reflected.

¹⁴³ The reference is here, of course, to the laws passed by the provisional government organized in Oregon pending the extension of the protection of the United States over the colony.

tent till our government treats with them for their lands. They have long been told that the Boston Hy-as Tyee (Chief) will come next year and pay them for their lands till they say their tum-tum (heart) is sick and they do not know but they shall mimmelus (die) before the Boston Hy-as Tyee comes. Our Indian neighbors like to have the Bostons settle among them and give them two or three blankets, a gun or a horse for a section of land and are fond of trading with the Whites, yet they are like children in their tradings with the Whites. They have generally great confidence in the honesty of the Whites till they are aroused to jealousy by some designing person.

March 24th—You will probably learn the state of our Indian relations to a later date than this through the medium of the return party who will leave the settlements for the States about the 20th of April, and will probably pass sufficiently near the Cayuse nation to learn the state of the war.

I have just received yours under date of April 1st, 1847, which came to the Islands on board the Medora, and will just state that it affords me great pleasure to learn that God still reigns in your anniversaries. May you ever be able truthfully to adopt the language of the Psalmist, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." I sometimes almost envy you those heavenly entertainments, yet our Heavenly Father has otherwise ordered it and I would not challenge the wisdom of His counsels. Since I commenced this package God has been graciously pleased to give us more than usual intimations that He has not entirely withdrawn His favors from us. Last Lord's day we organized a little feeble church in Clatsop Plains consisting of seven members, three males and four females,¹⁴⁴ and on Monday one of my neighbors sent for me to call and see him. I found him laboring under a deep sense of his condemned condition and he said, "I tell you,

¹⁴⁴ This church became extinct in a few years. Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore. I:8.

Mr. Fisher, I am a miserable, wretched sinner." The work of grace appeared most distinctly marked, from a conviction of his exceeding sinfulness in the sight of God to that of a full surrender of himself to God and the exercise of faith in a crucified Redeemer. Tuesday, about 5 P. M., hope sprang up in his soul and immediately he arose from his bed, which he had scarcely left for twenty minutes after Sabbath night, and bowed in the presence of his family and a few Christian friends in prayer. He still enjoys the consolation of a hope which fills the minds of his neighbors with surprise. . . . May God give me grace to improve this providence to His glory. All I will now say on this subject is that I find numbers of our impenitent fellow citizens acknowledging that they have been unusually affected under the preaching of the Word the past winter. We can but feel an additional assurance that the Spirit's silent, yet powerful influence has attended the preached Word the past winter. We feel greatly the need of grace, lest these indications of divine favor pass away unimproved. Pray for us in Clatsop and in Oregon that we may quit ourselves as missionaries of Jesus Christ as well as missionaries of the churches.

I wrote you a large package by the Brutus and entrusted it to the care of Elder Gary. I also wrote in November by the bark Whiton, Captain Getston¹⁴⁵ a package of three sheets in which I made a regular report from August to November. But I have recently learned that that ship is chartered for a transport to the Pacific squadron and I fear the letter will be miscarried or be long delayed. We suffer great inconvenience in rendering the amount your Board appropriate to our support available when needed, but hope to have a regular mail direct from this place to New York as soon as next winter. We shall then be able to make our reports and receive remittances from you timely so as to obviate the necessity of the too frequent interruptions of our missionary labors by the imperious demands of our families

¹⁴⁵ Gelston, not "Getston." Oregon Spectator, July 22, 1847.

for the bare comforts of life. I know your Board cannot call in question our earnest desire to labor exclusively in the appropriate duties of a minister, but, if you will just advert to your books and count up the amount of remittances and then reflect that we have been already in the field two years, you will not wonder that we are compelled to be by far more secular than is desirable. I have received in these two years only about \$70 from your Board. Could I have been in Illinois and received remittances quarterly, I should have been enabled to devote myself wholly to the work. These are unavoidable providences which will soon be succeeded by a direct and certain communication. I do not complain, but regret that your Board must be driven to the necessity of feeling that your missionaries are doing comparatively little in Oregon.

Anything that our brethren or sisters can send us as articles of clothing, and especially in cloth, either woollen or cotton, will greatly assist us. I shall make a request that you forward articles of clothing and common household furniture and books to the amount of my salary, or nearly so, up to this time the first opportunity after this. I have purposed to write you on the subject of the manners and customs and the general character of the people and, from time to time, give a general description of the various detached portions of the country, and the present embarrassments which our colony have to encounter, but this I cannot do at this time. I will simply give my testimony in general terms to the climate. After having spent two years and a half below the Cascade Mountains, I think I have never experienced so salubrious a climate, even in Vermont or Massachusetts, and never in my life have I seen so few persons suffering under the influence of disease, in proportion to the number of population. This remark holds emphatically true on the coast. Slight colds seem to be the only prevailing disease, except it be contagious diseases. The measles have prevailed among us this winter and have swept off a very

considerable number of the natives, who have suffered long from the venereal. Our soil is generally productive and yields a generous return to the labors of the husbandman. Yet it is not to be forgotten that we are far removed from the civilized world and consequently the few merchants in Oregon sell their goods of a very ordinary quality at very exorbitant prices, often one, two and three hundred per cent and, in some instances, more than a thousand per cent in advance of the first cost, among which I will name castings, edged tools, nails and all iron wares, coffee, cotton, cloth, leather boots and shoes, hats, cotton and woolen cloth. As yet there is no competition in trade. Much has been said and written of the changes of the mouth of the Columbia. I will venture to remark, upon the best authority, that the harbor within the mouth of the Columbia is one of the easiest of access and the safest in all North America. The last fifty times the bar has been crossed with no other accident than the loss of the anchor of the brig Henry. For further proof on this subject, I would refer you to Mr. Blain's^{145-a} letter to Honorable Thomas Benton, published in his three days' speech in the U. S. Senate on the subject, "The United States' Title to Oregon in 1846." The publishing of that letter in the commercial periodicals in our Atlantic cities would contribute something to the encouraging of commerce in Oregon.

We hope to organize an association in June next in the Willamette Valley.¹⁴⁶ We are beginning to need one or two more efficient missionaries in the Willamette Valley. I have chosen my position as advantageously as I could near the mouth of the Columbia and promise seems to indicate that it is too important to be abandoned. The population is gradually, but constantly, increasing. We have no doubt but the government will make the first national improvements at the mouth of the Columbia, and we think it rather probable that

^{145-a} Rev. Wilson Blain, editor of the Oregon Spectator, Oregon City.

¹⁴⁶ For the organization of the association, see the letter of Sept. 20, 1848, and Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore. I:18.

the commercial town will be near the mouth of the river. These considerations have exerted no small influence in the decisions I have made. At this time we have no other minister in the county and there is labor sufficient to occupy the time of one man, although we are farther from the main settlements on the Willamette than is desirable. We need practical, active, common sense preachers, with warm hearts and sound minds, and the churches will soon be able and willing to contribute something for their support.

March 25th.—The indications of divine favor appear to wear a favorable aspect and another of my neighbors seems not far from the Kingdom of Heaven. Tomorrow is the Sabbath and we hope and pray that the Spirit's power may accompany the preached Word.

Br. Johnson is making some efforts to build a meeting house in Oregon City. I have not yet learned with what success. He will probably write you the particulars.¹⁴⁷ Br. Vincent Snelling should be aided, if your Board can make an appropriation for him to labor with the Yam Hill church and the churches in that part of the Valley. Should our next immigration be large, as it probably will, we shall greatly need help in the ministry and a colporteur to travel, preach, sell books, visit and address Sabbath schools. The present and a few coming years are of very great importance in relation to all coming time in Oregon. They will constitute the formative period of our Territory, both civilly and morally. Small, immediate results will probably control interests of vast importance to all coming years. Our influence as a denomination should not be lost on the Pacific for the want of a few men and a little means. Your Board will not neglect Upper California. There can be little doubt but two missionaries should be sent, as soon as you can find the men, to labor in the vicinity of San Francisco Bay, should that sec-

¹⁴⁷ This building, the first Baptist meeting house west of the Rocky Mountains, was completed late in 1848, or early in 1849. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* 1:6. See also the diary of the author dated July 2, 1848, and enclosed in the letter of March 1, 1849. The building was situated on Thirteenth and Main streets.

tion of country become a territory of the U. States.¹⁴⁸ Br. Ross, a member of Br. Evart's church, is there selling goods.

I cannot close this without once more recommending to our Atlantic brethren, who wish to be instrumental in forming the character of some of the most important future states in the Union, to come and labor with us. Very soon the facilities for immigration will be greatly increased, and perhaps no new portion of our whole country will afford a more inviting field for usefulness and enterprise than the one fronting the vast Pacific. Would to God we could make some of our efficient deacons and private brethren arouse to a conviction of duty on this subject and induce them to come over and help us. At the present time it will require less sacrifice in time and property to sail from New York or Boston in October or November for the mouth of the Columbia than it does to immigrate by land from Illinois and Iowa in the spring. The farmer leaving your port in November may plant and sow Oregon soil in May, without spending a winter on expense before he can cultivate the soil. Time admonishes me to lay down my pen.

As ever yours, in gospel bonds,

EZRA FISHER.

March the 29th.—We still see increasing evidence that the Spirit of the Lord is over us, and although Sabbath was very rainy our congregation was good and solemn. We learn of another case in which we begin to cherish hope—a lad of thirteen years. Some backsliders are awakening. Our prayer meetings are becoming interesting. O, for a preparation of heart to lead God's people into the knowledge of every Christian duty and to win sinners to Christ, our all compassionate Saviour!

In view of so many uncertainties in regard to my former letters on board the Whiton reaching you, I think best to

¹⁴⁸ Rev. O. C. Wheeler was appointed to California in 1848 by the Home Mission Society. Soon afterward, Rev. H. W. Read was appointed, but stopped in New Mexico on his way out. Bap. Home Missions in N. Am., 1832-1882, p. 339.

give you a bill of goods which I wish you will have purchased and forwarded at your earliest convenience. I wrote on board the Whiton for one set of Fuller's works. We need Psalmists and you may send me one dozen, unless you find some friends who will donate them. If second-handed, they would be very gratefully received. I requested you to make an effort to have the A. B. Publication Soc. donate some books for ministers' libraries and Sunday schools and forward them to me. I also ordered at that time one bolt of dark calico, ten pounds saleratus put up in an earthen or glass jar, one hat for me (the thread enclosed in this is the circumference of my head), one tin reflector for baking bread, 15 yards of red woolen flannel and 20 yards canton flannel. Please send us one cheap bureau, one good common tea set, one set of plain knives and forks, one set of small dining plates, one common sized deep platter, six half-pint tumblers (a good article), three or four patent wooden pails, one ten-gallon brass kettle, bailed, one box of bar soap, ginger, spice, cinnamon and cloves, two pound each, two lbs. of best quality African capsicum, two lbs. black pepper, two bolts of coarse cotton sheeting, three bolts of good, firm, dark calico, one bolt of plaid linsey, 20 or 25 yds. of yellow flannel, 12 yards of red flannel, one pilot cloth overcoat large enough for you, to set easy, suited to a new country and a rainy winter, 15 yards of heavy cadet cloth or dark colored satinet and six yards of black satinet, a good, fine article, four yards of black kerseymere, six pairs of colored woolen half hose, domestic, two pounds of woolen stocking yarn, two pair of women's black worsted hose, two pair of white cotton hose, women's; one cheap fur cap for a boy 15 years old, two lapped leghorn bonnets, trimmed, five yards of Irish linen, three linen handkerchiefs, two silk pocket handkerchiefs, two black silk handkerchiefs, two brown linen table cloths, 10 yards of brown toweling, one glass lamp, 13 yards of black silk lustre alpaca, 15 yards of black cambric, and cotton wadding enough to stuff one cloak, five yards of

brown holland, two pounds of candlewicking, six cakes of shaving soap, one pair heavy calfskin men's shoes, No. 9, two pair of women's shoes, calf skin, No. 4½, two pair of morocco shoes, No. 4, two pair of boys' shoes, heavy kip, Nos. 5 and 6, two pair of girls' shoes, calf skin, Nos. 1 and 2, two pair children's calf skin, Nos. 10 and 11. Our climate is wet and we need thick, firm leather. Also send one school geography.

March 31st.—In the purchase of these articles, you will please have regard to our income and the climate in which we live.

Our late news from the Indian war is of a favorable character and we hope the war will terminate in a few months at longest. Yet a few unfavorable occurrences may involve us in a general Indian warfare. Present prospects for an abundant wheat harvest are very flattering. I must close this, as the last opportunity to send it to the return party will be in a day or two and I have to answer several private letters.

Yours with esteem,

EZRA FISHER,
Missionary in Clatsop Plains, Oregon.

Received August 14, 1848.

Clatsop Plains, Clatsop County, Oregon Ter.

Sept. the 20th, 1848.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Very Dear Br.:

All the letters which you sent me on board the ship Matilda were probably received on board the brig Mary Dane,¹⁴⁹ together with thirteen boxes of goods and books shipped on board the same ship. I suppose the other box was shipped

¹⁴⁹ "Mary Dare," not "Mary Dane." She belonged to the Hudson Bay Company and arrived from the Hawaiian Islands, where she had probably received these goods from the "Matilda," the latter part of August, 1848. Bancroft, Hist. of Ore. II:43.

directly to Br. Johnson, as I find it was designed for him. I shall forward this by the Brig Henry to the Pacific squadron now on the coast of California, hoping it will reach you; yet I am in so much doubt that I shall not venture to forward my report from March 8th up to this date, which is now partially made out. We are expecting a government steamer in the mouth of the Columbia in a few weeks, by which I will forward you my report, together with an answer to all your inquiries. I will then write to all the societies and individuals who have so kindly sympathized with us in these ends of the earth. The goods and books will afford us great relief and the donors will be held in grateful, lasting remembrance. May God reward them.

We organized an association on the 23rd and 24th of June last in Tualatin Plains by the name of the Willamette Baptist Association, consisting of five churches. I spent the last of June and the month of July in the Willamette Valley. Had the subject of an institution of learning under consideration with a few of the most judicious brethren. It strikes me that the central part of the Willamette Valley, near the head of what will be steam navigation, will be the place best adapted to meet the wants of the present population of Oregon, and will always be the center of heavy population. But we find no man who will secure a tract of land sufficiently large to meet all the wants of a literary institution unless I go and buy or take a claim and donate the half of it to the denomination and enter upon the work of commencing and sustaining a school in connection with preaching. But in that event I must measurably abandon this point, which we feel is of vast importance prospectively. Probably \$100 or \$200 would purchase such a claim of 640 acres as would be desirable. But our laws in Oregon require actual residence within one year after recording such claim. I have been in great anxiety on this subject. One year more may probably put such an opportunity beyond our reach without a very considerable sum of money. Neither myself nor family have

any inclination to change our place, unless we see a strong probability of advancing the general interests of religion by it. I can secure a tolerably eligible situation in the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia River, but at present it is remote from the great portion of the population, yet eventually I think it will become a commanding central point. But it will be difficult to induce our brethren to take this view on the subject. While this subject has been engrossing my anxious care, our whole community has been perfectly convulsed with the rumor of much gold in the valleys and hills of California.¹⁵⁰ The report has been often repeated and enlarged upon till more than half of the men of our Territory are either digging gold or on the way in quest of the treasure. The region in which it is found is variously represented as being from 120 to 200 miles in length and about 70 in breadth, and it is said that no limits have yet been found. Pure gold is found everywhere where the diggers break the earth and the amount a man procures per day varies from \$10 worth to \$240. The gold bears the appearance of having been fused and congealed in irregular forms and various sized pieces, from very small pieces (in form resembling wheat bran) to those of more than four pounds' weight. Silver, quicksilver, platina, and even diamonds, are reported to have been found in this gold region; also iron ore, containing from 80 to 90 per cent of iron. I never saw so excited a community. Gold is the rage, and it is to be feared that the farming interests in Oregon will suffer immensely; and all our manufacturing, commercial, social, civil, moral and religious interests must suffer for years. Indeed I think a greater calamity to our colony could hardly have been sent. California will fill up as by magic with a heterogeneous mass from every nation and tribe. Our congregations are fast

¹⁵⁰ The news of the discovery of gold in California first reached Oregon early in August, 1848. Bancroft Hist. of Ore. I:42, 43. The account of the emigration of able-bodied men from Oregon to California is corroborated by contemporaries. Ibid. 43. (James W. Marshall, an Oregon pioneer of 1844, who spent more than a year in Oregon prior to going to California, is credited with the discovery of gold there Jan. 24, 1848. News of the discovery of gold reached Yamhill county early in July, 1848, and William G. Buffum and wife left Amity, in that county, early in August for the mines.—Geo. H. Himes, Sec. Or. Pioneer Assn.)

waning. But we suppose we shall receive accessions from the States to fill up in part the places vacated. Provisions on the Pacific coast must be scarce in less than eighteen months. Numbers of our brethren have gone to spend the winter at the gold mines and others will go in the spring, probably to make a home. You will see by this that no time should be lost by your Board in securing the labors of two or three efficient ministers for California. We feel that we, more than ever before, need grace to direct in these times of trial. God no doubt has a providence in this. May we so improve under these trials that they shall eventuate in the promotion of the great interests of Zion, both here and in the ends of the world. Tomorrow morning I leave for the Willamette Valley. Our brethren in Tualatin Plains have a protracted meeting appointed and I am strongly solicited to attend. But I must go with a heavy heart. Perhaps half the brethren there have gone for gold. I fear we shall labor in vain. Gold at this time is the people's god and how shall we be able to present the glories of the Redeemer's character in so attractive a light as to win the affections of those enchanted with the immediate prospects of wealth? But God reigns and the hearts of all men are in His hands and He can use the feeblest instrumentality to show forth His praise. But I should not have chosen this time for special labor.

I remain your unworthy brother,

EZRA FISHER.

Received June 11, 1849.

Clatsop Plains, Oregon Ter., Sept. 19, 1848.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Very dear Br.:

Your three letters under date of July 15, 1847, July 17, 1847, and October 15th, 1847, together with one bearing date Feb. 16th, 1847, with an envelope subscribed Sept. 25th, 1847,

were received on the 5th inst. by the Hudson Bay Company's brig Mary Dare, together with 13 boxes marked with a diamond and numbered 1 to 10 and A, B and D. I think the box marked "C" was shipped direct to Br. Johnson from Honolulu. Your letters cheered our spirits and the goods and books were most welcome messengers.

Beside the above named letters, I have received from you since I left Rock Island, April 12th, 1845, the following letters; one bearing dates Jan. 19th, and 24th, 1846, one commission No. 1081, April 1st, 1846, one letter Oct. 26th, 1846, and one 31st and November 13th, 1846, and one commission, No. 1170, April 1st, 1847.

I wrote you about the 15th of July, 1847, by the ship Brutus, to the care of Elder Gary, who assured me he would deliver the letters in person; I next wrote you about the 1st of November, 1847, by the bark Whiton, Capt. Gelston, in both which I think I gave you a brief report of labors. I wrote again on the 8th of March, 1848, and reported labor from Nov. 1, 1847, to March 8th, 1848. These three sheets were forwarded by last spring's return party overland. I then reported nineteen weeks, preached twenty sermons, attended our prayer meetings, two religious conferences, preparatory to the constitution of a church, visited 40 families and individuals, two common schools, traveled 147 miles, one young married brother a licensed preacher in my field; monthly concert of prayer is observed; \$14 paid for my salary; two Sabbath schools, 42 scholars, 10 teachers, one school, 100 volumes in the library; the other 20 vols. I have one Bible class of eight members. We were then about to be constituted in a few days in Clatsop Plains. Had been engaged in building a hewed log school house 18 feet by 24 for the purpose of school and public worship on the Sab. I had spent two weeks in that work.

I will now proceed to report from March 8th, 1848, to Sept. 19th, 1848. My field comprises Clatsop Plains and Astoria. I statedly supply two stations in these plains. My place of

residence is Clatsop Plains, the community of Astoria as yet being too small to justify my fixing my location there. My post office is Astoria.

I have labored 28 weeks since my last report, preached 37 sermons, delivered two temperance lectures, attended 24 prayer meetings, visited religiously 96 families and individuals, visited five common schools, obtained 22 signatures to the temperance pledge, baptized none, assisted in the constitution of the Clatsop church, no ordination, traveled, to and from my appointments 611 miles, seven persons were received by letter into the constitution of the church and one to the Santiam church. By experience none.

We know of no conversions since about the time of our last report. About that time three were hopefully converted. No young men preparing for the ministry. Monthly concert of prayer is observed at one of my stations. My people have paid during this period nothing for home missions, domestic missions, foreign missions, Bible or any other benevolent societies; for my salary \$12. Have so far advanced in our school house that we have a comfortable place for worship. Connected with my stations are two Sunday schools, ten teachers and 40 scholars, 125 volumes in each library. Bible class part of the time in the school; six scholars. I wrote in my last informing you of an interesting state of religious feeling with several of our citizens. I sanguinely hoped during the months of March, April and May that we should have the satisfaction of administering the ordinance of baptism to three or four men, but soon the Cayuse war called off one young man, and in a few weeks two others who gave evidence of change being wrought in them removed to the Willamette Valley and the favorable omens passed off without any in-gatherings to the church. Our congregations, however, have generally been good for the amount of population. Our Sunday schools have been very uniform and our children appear unusually interested.

Feb. 2nd, 1849.¹⁵¹—Dear Brother Hill: The want of direct conveyance to New York has occasioned this long delay and I will now make up my report from Sept. 19, 1848, up to this time, making 19 weeks.

Preached 24 sermons, delivered no lectures on moral and benevolent subjects, attended 18 prayer meetings, four covenant meetings, one temperance meeting, visited 49 families and individuals, three common schools; baptized none; obtained two signatures to the temperance pledge; organized no church, no ordination, traveled 412 miles to and from my appointments; received no persons by letter, none by experience; no person preparing for the ministry. Monthly concert of prayer is observed at one station. My people have paid nothing for missionary or other benevolent societies. Paid \$45 for my salary. We have one Sunday school, six teachers, 24 scholars, 125 volumes in the library. No Bible class. I attend our Sunday school and usually explain the lessons; distribute tracts and pamphlets among the children. We have entirely separated from the Presbyterians in our S. S. and congregation, or rather they have separated from us. Our congregations have diminished during the winter from the fact that numbers of our citizens are in the mines in California. Yet the people at home are quite as attentive to the preaching of the Word as usual. Part of our church will soon move to California and all the rest will spend next summer at least in the mines, except my family, and this is somewhat a specimen of the gold excitement throughout Oregon. But a small portion of the men will remain at home during the summer, except as they return to harvest their crops in July, Aug. and Sept. Many families will probably leave for California, among which will be found more than a fair proportion of business men. Immediately on the confirmation of the report of much gold in California our

¹⁵¹ The letter of Sept. 19, 1848, was inclosed with this of Feb. 2, 1849, and with those of Sept. 20th and Oct. 19th, 1848, was not received until past the middle of June, 1849.

Methodist brethren sent one preacher¹⁵² overland to the mines, and I understand that he is now preaching part of the time in San Francisco.

Yours, EZRA FISHER,

Received June 19, 1849.

Missionary in Oregon.

Clatsop Plains on the Pacific Shore, near Astoria,

October 19, 1848.

Beloved Br. Hill:

On opening the most valuable box, No. 9, shipped from New York to me on board the ship *Matilda*, Oct. 15th, 1847, I found an inventory without either name or place attached to it, but we infer that the letter was directed to you and not to either of us from the sentence appended to the invoice in the following words: "The difference of \$2.34 between the invoice and the letter to Brother Hill is owing to articles having been brought in after the letter was sent." The box contained the only shawl, boys' cloth cap, and a piece of bed-ticking that was sent us. The box was valued at \$66.34. We regret that we have neither name nor place attached to the invoice, because it would afford us great pleasure to have addressed a line of grateful acknowledgement to the donors. The box was thankfully received and contained a number of articles of woolen clothing which are especially valuable in our climate, so cool in summer and so wet in winter. Any second-hand woolen clothes, when but partially worn, are always very useful where sheep are scarce and looms none. We have not more than two or three looms in all our Territory. Thanks to Br. and Dr. Allen for the Mothers' Journal, the forwarding of the paragraph Bible and Testament and

¹⁵² Who was sent to California, the editors have not been able to find; Rev. William Roberts and Rev. J. H. Wilbur stopped there several weeks in 1847, on their way from New York to Oregon, and organized a church in San Francisco—the first Methodist church on the Pacific Coast south of Oregon. In 1849, Rev. William Taylor and Rev. Isaac Owen were the regular appointees of the Conference in California.—H. K. Himes, *Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest*, p. 371, 386. (Rev. C. O. Hosford, a pioneer of 1845, who was licensed to preach in Oregon by the authorities of the Methodist Church, Rev. William Roberts, Superintendent, in the fall of 1847, was sent to California early in 1848. Hosford organized the first class-meeting in a short time, and that became the nucleus of the first Methodist church in California.—Geo. H. Himes, *Asst. Sec. Or. Hist. Society*.)

other favors. I shall answer this letter before long. We received a bundle of 100 volumes of new Sunday school books from the Juvenile Soc. of the Sunday school in the Stanton Street Baptist Church. I shall answer Br. Cowan's letter as soon as time will permit. We received a package of new Sunday school books, containing 300 volumes, and we regret to say we found no name nor bill attached to them, as we should be pleased to respond to the donors direct. We know they were obtained through your influence in the City. We regard them a valuable acquisition, especially as we have been obliged to sustain our school in this place with so few volumes of the A. Tract Soc.'s publications and other books less adapted to the capacities of children. We have been waiting and praying a whole year for just such an auxiliary. May the blessings of these ends of the earth come on the donors in the great day of the Lord! The periodicals, especially of 1846 and 1847, were most gratefully received and we are still feasting richly upon their contents, whenever we have an hour of leisure, and we feast not alone. All our neighbors, and especially our Christian friends, find much to entertain them. The annual reports are all valuable, and we only regret that we have no more, as we have frequent occasions to meet prejudices surly through these matters of fact. You speak of procuring and forwarding a box of school books. Next to sustaining the gospel, you will render us the most essential service in a work of this kind. It is very much to be desired that the present system of popular school books in the States be introduced into all our schools in Oregon. And while so much effort is being made in the old states in behalf of popular education in the Mississippi valley, I trust a voice will be lifted up in behalf of the Pacific borders. Would to God that we had a Slade^{152-a} to plead our cause on this subject in our Atlantic cities and towns. The importance of this subject is daily increasing our responsibilities and the rage of the gold mania is diminishing public sympathy for

^{152-a} Gov. William L. Slade, of Vermont, President of the National Board of Popular Education.—Geo. H. Himes, Asst. Sec. O. H. S.

the general diffusion of knowledge. At present our old states must assume a part of this responsibility, or it is to be feared that Oregon and California will prove a curse to the Union. We want your books and, as far as practicable, the very same kind and date as those which are so richly blessing your whole Atlantic slope. But with books, we equally need teachers of moral worth and, if possible, of vital piety. Would to God we could make our feelings understood in the eastern and middle states, and we are sure we should see every ship from your ports to our coast crowded with men, and women too, who would become co-workers with us in this and every noble, philanthropic work. Could you but visit us and see and feel for yourself all we see and feel daily of our peculiar relations and temptations, you would strike a note that would not only call out a few boxes of goods to clothe the families of the missionaries already in the field, but would search out from their quiet, comfortable homes many a useful brother to share with us the toils and privations and, I will add too, the honors under God of transferring to these western shores the blessings of general education and spiritual, practical religion. We are in perishing need of help. We need just such men as give efficiency to the churches at home. Then under God we can move forward in the cause of education and Christianity. But we will not despond; we have counted the cost; God is our helper and He has the hearts of His people in His hands. But I must close.

As ever yours,

EZRA FISHER.

On Margin.—Help must be sent to California without delay if possible. I should certainly have spent part of this winter at San Francisco, Monterey, and perhaps have visited the mines, if I could have raised the funds to have paid my passage without digging at the mines.

Received June 18, 1849.

Clatsop Plains, Oregon Ter., Feb. 3d, 1849.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

I closed my last yesterday on the subject of California and will continue to remark. I understand by Capt. of the Undine that Mr. Hunt, a Presbyterian minister, is preaching at San Francisco.¹⁵³ Besides these two, I think there is not a Protestant preacher in Upper California. In view of the extraordinary evolution of things in Oregon and the vast influx of population in California and the fact that a large portion of our Baptist brethren of Oregon will be at the mines throughout most of the summer, and in view of the strong solicitude of our members in Clatsop about to move to California that I should visit that territory at least next summer, and the advice of all the members of the church, and in view of the loss of the goods shipped on board the bark Undine the 21st of June, 1848, I have thought it might be my duty to visit the mines the coming spring and dig long enough to raise means to pay my passage and meet the present pressing wants of my family, spend a few weeks in the American settlements and towns and return home perhaps in July or August. I do not know but this course may be regarded by your Board as outstepping the bounds of your instructions, but I feel a strong conviction that great and sudden and unexpected changes justify extraordinary action. I do not know that I have the first desire to dig in the mines one day and, if I could leave my family comfortable and go by water to San Francisco and other towns on the Bay and the mines, with no other care than that for God's glory on the Pacific Coast, my care would be greatly relieved. But I have not the means, and I cannot leave that interest without being able to make known the wants of that rapidly accumulating mass to your Board. I will keep an account of the amount of time lost in traveling and digging, if any, and report to

¹⁵³ This was Thomas Dwight Hunt, of Honolulu, a Congregationalist. Bancroft, Hist. of Calif. VII:727. Several clergymen came in February, 1849. Ibid.

your Board, or, should your Board disapprove of the enterprise and think the cause of Christ better served by discontinuing my appointment the present year, I shall acquiesce, with the privilege of continuing a correspondence with you. I trust, however, that your Board will acquiesce in my views. I am quite sure, if you were here and knew all I know of the state of things in California, you would take the most prompt measures to acquaint yourselves with the wants of that territory and meet them. Oregon must be measurably stationary for a time,¹⁵⁴ while California will swarm with people and overflow with wealth, gambling and dissipation, and, unless our churches act with promptness and devotion and liberality, these inexhaustible treasures are given over into the hands of the Prince of Devils, California will be morally lost and will prove a capital scourge to our nation. It is only relatively that Oregon sinks in importance. No doubt she will become three-fold as valuable to the nation as she would have been, if gold had not been found in California.¹⁵⁵ Although all is in confusion in Oregon and our citizens and members are now going and coming so that it is difficult effecting anything permanent here just at this time, yet be assured that we need more laborers even here, that the efforts already made may be followed up, and under God we may expect a rich return. This, like all other excitements, will sooner or later settle and people and wealth will flow back to Oregon with astonishing rapidity. We now need at least two efficient young men in Oregon who can be well sustained by your Board, and I know that an able young man now placed in San Francisco and liberally supported, another at Sacramento City (Sutter's Fort), another in the American settlements and a fourth at the mines would find

¹⁵⁴ This was approximately true.

The immigration to Oregon in 1849 was about 400; in 1850, about 2000; in 1851, about 1500; in 1852, about 2500; while the increase in California during these years was about ten or twenty times this number. F. G. Young, *The Oregon Trail*, in Oregon Hist. Soc. Quar. I:370. This estimate probably includes only those who came overland by the Oregon Trail.

¹⁵⁵ The influx of gold-seekers to California gave Oregon a market for its lumber and farm products. Returning miners brought gold dust with them, and the author's prophecy of Oregon's share in the prosperity of California was fulfilled. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:48-59.

profitable work in promoting the interests of Zion under the Captain of our salvation. I wish you to remember that the formation of our civil and religious character is at hand and vice in all its forms must reign, unless Zion's sons are awake. Just think of the advantageous position of San Francisco in relation to the whole Pacific trade. Where is there another such point to be occupied in all North America? Now hold the map before you. Think of the mountains of gold behind her, the influx of population from Upper and Lower California bordering the coast, the Pacific islands, and even China, swarming hither for gold, and then let me ask our dear brethren, Are we prepared to leave this point unoccupied for the want of a few hundred dollars? This picture is no fiction. Already the principal men of the Sandwich Islands are said to be in the mines digging gold, and I am informed that there are some from China, too. And how long will it be before almost every nation in Europe will be represented there? All who go to the mines and return say the gold is inexhaustible and yields from one ounce of pure gold to six or eight pounds per day to a single laborer. What a point then is San Francisco for the men of God to take with Bibles and devotional books and tracts, sending them as upon the wings of the wind! Will your Board censure me then for pursuing the plan laid down in this sheet the coming summer, in the midst of this unsettled state of things in Oregon?

I received yours of Jan. 22, 1848, giving the sum total of three boxes of goods shipped on board the Bark Undine, Thos. S. Baker, Master, on the 21st of January, 1848. The three boxes with cartage and insurance amounted to \$122.74. The Undine is now in the Columbia. I understand that she suffered a partial wreck in passing Cape Horn and her goods were part thrown overboard and part sold as damaged goods somewhere on the Pacific coast south of this. Thus you see, dear brother, that God has been pleased, graciously no doubt, to deprive me and family of our dependence in clothing for

the ensuing year, and it must probably be ten months before you will be able to recover the insurance and place the goods within my reach. The letters enclosed in the boxes with the periodicals are of course lost. I shall be obliged to write another sheet and enclose in this. I therefore close this by subscribing myself your unworthy brother,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—Want of time prevents my writing more by this opportunity to California to meet the first mail steamer. But I will give you extracts from my Journal soon, some brief geographical notices, etc.

Yours, E. F.

Received June 19, 1849.

Clatsop Plains, Feb. 5th, 1849.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

That there may be no mistake in relation to the boxes shipped on board the bark Undine on the 21st day of Jan., 1848, I will give you the copy of the inventory as forwarded by you. . . .

It appears that Thos. S. Baker sailed as Master and that Capt. James Bishop & Co. were proprietors. The Undine has changed owners and masters. It is to be hoped you have learned of the disaster and secured the insurance and forwarded me the same articles in kind before this time. But if not, I trust on the receipt of this you will secure the insurance and forward the same articles in kind and quality, excepting the children's shoes. You will please get them all one size larger at least, as they are growing fast. I wrote on board the bark Whiton in the fall of 1847 ordering the following: One set of Fuller's works, one dozen of the Psalmist, one bolt of dark calico, ten lbs. of saleratus, one hat, one tin reflector for baking bread, fifteen yds. of red flannel and twenty yds. of canton flannel.

On the 8th of March, 1848, accompanying a report of nineteen weeks, I ordered the following articles: (This was sent overland and I fear has not reached you. If you have not forwarded it, please omit the bureau and in the place send me a good cooking stove and pipe, as we are not able to have both at present.) . . .

Please send me the following articles, if I have the amount due me. Bill ordered Feb. 5, 1849: Six large tin pans, one set candle moulds, 2 tin pails with lids, six and eight quarts, 10 pint tin cups, 2 quart do., 2 tin coffee pots, one-half box of glass, eight by ten, 1 keg of nails, 8's, 6's and 4's, equal parts, 15 lbs. nails, 10 penny, 1 nail hatchet with handle, 1 ax, 1 spade, with steel blade, 1 hoe, 1 small, plain looking glass, 1 set of dining plates, 1 set butter do., 1 pitcher, 2 quarts, 1 bolt cotton sheeting, heavy, 2 bolts dark, firm calico, 16 yds. black alpaca, or something suitable for ladies' dresses and cloaks, 12 yds. black cambric, 12 sheet wadding, 14 yds. good bed ticking, half lb. good black sewing silk, 1 good cooking stove and furniture with 7 or 8 joints of pipe, 6 ivory fine combs, 6 doz. spools white cotton thread, 1 ream good cap writing paper, 1 box vegetable shaving soap, 1 penknife, 1 pocket do., 1 traveler's inkstand and 6 common cheap ones,¹⁵⁶ 1 pair heavy calfskin boots, No. 10, 1 do. shoes, No. 9.

N. B.—Samuel N. Castle, agent A. B. C. F. M. for Sandwich Islands Mission, forwarded the 13 boxes shipped by you on the Matilda, charging \$20.73 to me and to Br. Johnson \$1.22, stating that he should draw on you for the same. Br. Johnson requests that you should take his proportion of this freight from the Islands to Astoria from your account charged to me and charge the same to him, which will probably be about ten dollars. I have not the separate bills of freight as charged to him and me from N. Y. to the Sandwich Islands. You have on your books and will confer a favor on me by apportioning the amount, \$21.95, between us.

¹⁵⁶ These cheap inkstands were probably for school use.

Cut the lower part of this half sheet and you have my entire bill.

P. S.—Send no more goods by the Sandwich Islands. Bill continued from the other page: 1 bolt Kentucky jean, 1 pair thick, men's shoes, No. 6, 2 pairs stout, ladies' morocco shoes, Nos. 4 and 4½, 1 pair misses' shoes, calf skin, No. 2½, 1 do No. 1.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Clatsop Plains, Oregon Ter., Feb. 8th, 1849.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

Yours under date of October 15th, 1847, presented some of your views of the importance of making an early attempt to lay the foundation for a denominational school which should eventually mature into a college and theological seminary. I was greatly cheered to learn that some of our Eastern brethren were beginning to think on that subject. This is a cause which is far from being among the least of my cares. And, first, from selfish motives I am called upon to be awake to this work. My rising family and that of a respectable number of our brethren imperiously demand that something be done, and that soon, or our children must be distressingly neglected. And, secondly, such is the character of a large portion of our Oregon Baptists that, as a denomination, we cannot be efficient and secure a great amount of public confidence till we can find some benevolent enterprise at home in which we can enlist their sympathies. This will be likely to be a work around which all will rally from personal interest more readily than any other benevolent enterprise now before the Christian public. Through this medium I would hope to call into our Territory more liberal-minded men from the older states. It is true that we have a respectable number of Baptists who appreciate the importance of an edu-

cated ministry and who pray for the universal spread of the gospel by the direct effort of the church, yet the larger portion of our brethren have never seen it so done in Israel.

Thirdly, we owe it to our rising territory to perform our part in the formation of our national character. I spent four or five weeks last summer in traveling through the Willamette Valley ¹⁵⁷ preaching and privately laying this subject before our brethren, and I rejoiced much to find so many who responded cheerfully to the views that I presented. I then thought some central point in that valley on the banks of the Willamette, or near it, in view of the circumstances, would be the most desirable position. Afterward, when we heard a report of much gold in the vicinity of the Columbia River,¹⁵⁸ both Br. Johnson and myself thought we might as well make an effort on these Plains (Clatsop). We, however, learned that the parties who went to Powder River to explore for gold brought home nothing but mica, or pyrites of iron, and the whole tide of immigration and commerce turned towards California. I, therefore, was compelled to yield to the popular opinion everywhere rife that Oregon must unavoidably be thrown back at least two or three years. Our lovely little church in Clatsop Plains will every one but my own family go to California, and all think it is my duty to go this summer, and some are very solicitous that I move my family there. In view of all these circumstances, nothing more can be done the present season than to fix on a location, and that is somewhat hazardous. Yet with the present development of the country, both here and in California, I think, if anything is done this season, I shall be strongly inclined to favor the commencement of this work somewhere near the point on the Willamette where steam navigation will terminate, say about 70 or 80 miles above Oregon City. I am strengthened in these views from the facts that the Willamette Valley is the largest body of rich farming land in Oregon, and the scenery remarkably picturesque; that the

¹⁵⁷ There was as yet no uniformity in the spelling of this name. See note 71.

¹⁵⁸ These discoveries were not largely utilized until the sixties.—G. H. Himes.

large bodies of farming land on the Umpqua, the Clamet¹⁵⁹ and Rogue rivers will be the next settled after the Willamette, and that there must be a great thoroughfare opened from the falls of the Willamette River to the gold mines on the Sacramento River in California before many years. Wagons already travel it with convenience.

You ask how a site may be secured? I know of but one way at present, and that is to find one, two or more brethren interested in the enterprise to take or purchase claims covering the site wanted and then pledge themselves either to donate or sell the necessary amount of land to a board in trust for the denomination.

My feelings last summer were so much enlisted on this subject that I became half-inclined to make a claim in reference to this specific object, change the field of my labor and pledge half of said claim to the denomination. I, however, thought of the time and money expended by your Board to sustain me at the mouth of the river and of the little feeble church here, and, by the advice of Br. Johnson and the absence of all counsel from your Board, I concluded to let matters rest for the present.

Now this complete confusion into which the entire community, both in Oregon and in California, are thrown by means of much gold being found in the latter territory will probably compel me to take my family to the Willamette Valley and work toward this object, in connection with that greatest of all works, the preaching of the gospel, or comply with the wishes of some of the best members of this church and remove to the vicinity of San Francisco Bay; or it is possible, but hardly probable, some good brethren may move to this place. I leave this matter with the great Head of the Church and trust His providence may mark out plainly the path of duty. I need much the advice of your Board on this subject, and trust I shall have it in three or four months. From the present movement of things I think a

¹⁵⁹ Klamath. See note 100.

large portion of the enterprise and business talent of Oregon will be thrown upon the Sacramento River and San Francisco Bay. What proportion of our Oregon brethren and their families, I cannot now tell. But of one thing I am confident, ministerial help and educational help must be sent to Oregon and California from the States or little will be done. My lungs are beginning to fail me; Br. Johnson has a numerous family and cannot do everything; the means necessary to sustain a family in Oregon the present year will be nearly twice as much as it was last year, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether the liberality of the people on the Pacific will keep pace with the increase of their wealth unless they have the gospel sanctified to them. Sin and iniquity are making fearful strides in California since the commencement of gold digging, if all reports are true. How exceedingly desirable that these unparalleled treasures be consecrated to the service of the Lord in the universal spread of the gospel.

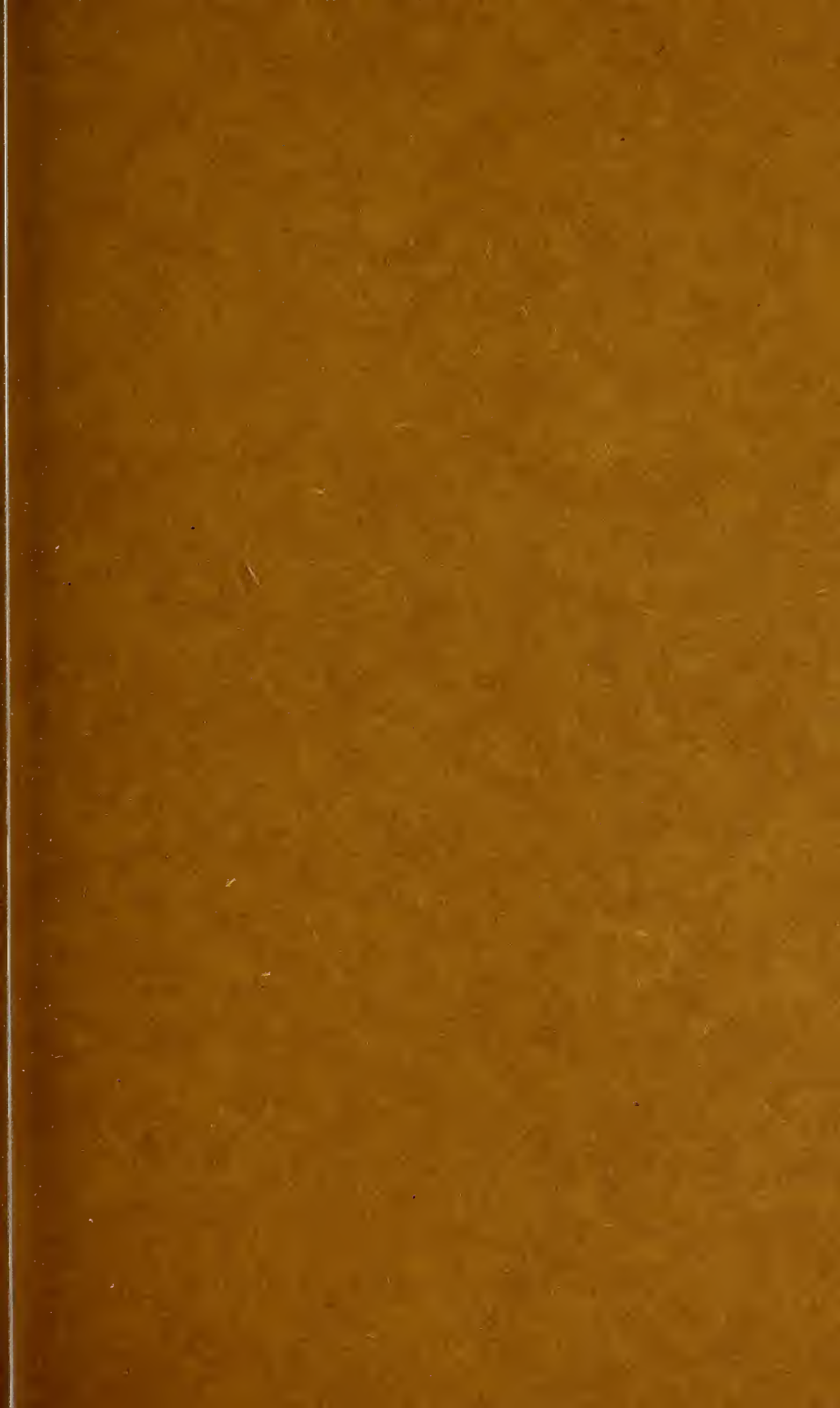
As ever I subscribe myself your unworthy brother,

EZRA FISHER.

Received July 3, 1849.

ERRATUM.

On page 5, line 15, in the paper entitled "The Indian of the Northwest as Revealed by the Earliest Journals," published in the March number of this Quarterly, the word "graduations" should be "gratulations."



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THE MOVEMENT IN OREGON FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PACIFIC COAST REPUBLIC

By DOROTHY HULL.

To fully understand the political tendencies of the West it is necessary to understand the Western spirit, for political platforms are but a more or less clear reflection of the spirit which animates those who frame them.

The West has always been the home of democracy. The Western movement in the United States from its first inception was a democratic movement. The fur traders who blazed the trail to the West, and the ranchers and farmers who followed in their wake forging the broader path for civilization were not aristocrats, but the common people—rugged, self-reliant, and ambitious. They pushed to the West, drawn by the lure of adventure, seeking cheap lands, and a chance to work out their political and social ideas free from the aristocratic organization of the East. Hence in the West democracy, social and political, became the dominant force.

The life of the pioneer was rough; social amenities were few, but a man's valuation was based on his personal worth and ability, and not on his wealth or ancestry. The problems confronting the pioneer were new and difficult, and through the effort required for their solution the minds of even the

older men experienced rejuvenation. With all his faults the pioneer must be admired for his idealism and his optimism.

The early isolation of the West, and the completeness of its geographical separation from the political center of the nation fostered an intense feeling of local independence. It was not surprising then that in times of great public danger when vital sectional interests were believed to be at stake this spirit of local independence should find expression in the doctrines of popular sovereignty, states-rights, nullification, and even secession.

So it was that before 1795 the people of the Trans-Allegheny West threatened the establishment of an independent republic when it appeared that a selfish and short-sighted Congress was on the point of bartering away for ephemeral commercial advantages the right of a free navigation of the Mississippi River, on which the very existence of the western frontiersman depended. So it was that during the critical period of our history from 1850 to 1865 when the forces making for the destruction of the American Union were gathering impetus for their most dangerous attack on the integrity of the national government, and when the Pacific Railroad had not yet bound the West to the East with bands of shining steel there developed on the Pacific Coast a movement for the establishment of a Pacific Coast Republic. While it is true that the movement was supported by but a minority of the people of the Pacific Coast, the fact of its inception by political leaders of the West is significant.

While the first cause of the movement may be considered the spirit of the West, its immediate occasion was the conflict of local and national interests which became especially marked after 1855. To understand this it is necessary to present in greater detail the federal relations of the Western States and Territories.

The Movement in Oregon for the Establishment of a Pacific Coast Republic. (1855-1861.)

On June 15, 1846, the treaty with Great Britain was signed which secured to the United States the territory of Oregon lying south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. The Oregon question was thus settled, and it was supposed that the American government would at once proceed to organize a government for the newly acquired territory. It was not, however, until August 14, 1848, that the bill providing for the organization of Oregon as a territory became law. This unexpected delay, caused by the opposition of the pro-slavery leaders in Congress to the clause in the Oregon Provisional Government declaring that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should ever be permitted in the territory, was peculiarly galling to the citizens of Oregon, who felt that although their efforts had been largely responsible for the acquisition of this valuable territory by the United States government, that government was now refusing them necessary assistance and protection. 'Nevertheless all bitter feelings were forgotten in the general rejoicing at the news of the passage of the Territorial Bill in 1848.

March 3, 1849, the territorial government was put into operation by a Democratic governor (General Joseph Lane) appointed by President Polk. The governor entered upon his duties with energy and enthusiasm, and the machinery of government was soon running smoothly.²

In Oregon at this time the political lines of demarcation were not those laid down by the great national parties; such parties as existed were based on purely local issues.

Before the territorial organization the people of Oregon had had little reason to be interested in the national disputes of Whig and Democrat, and the Oregon settler, though perhaps a violent partisan before his immigration to the far west, after that immigration soon came to think little of his former party alignment, and to concentrate his attention on local affairs.³

¹ Schafer, *History of the Pacific North-West*, pp. 216-217.

² Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, 1, 780.

³ Woodward, *Rise and Early History of Political Parties in Oregon*, in *Oregon Historical Society, The Quarterly*, XII, pp. 36-37.

National interests, however, were not dead, but merely dormant, and the organization of Oregon as a territory led to an awakening which, though gradual, was none the less complete. The position of the people in relation to the national government practically forced them to take a definite stand with regard to national politics.

Unwelcome evidence of the dependence of the people of Oregon on the political complexion of the national government soon appeared. The election of 1848 placed the patronage of the government in the control of the Whig Party, and the incoming government was not slow in bestowing all available positions on office-hungry Whigs. Oregon soon felt the weight of this policy. The Democratic officials who had already won the confidence and respect of the people were replaced by Whigs. A period of bitter political strife followed this change.

Politically, Oregon in 1850, was in a transition state. The Democrats were undoubtedly the strongest party numerically, but they, as well as the other parties, lacked organization. It was impossible that such an anomalous condition of affairs should continue long. It was evident that both local and national interests demanded the perfecting of party machinery,¹ and the Democrats, spurred to additional effort because of their hatred of Whig domination, went to work to perfect a party organization for the territory.

The Whigs, though at first radically opposed to party organization, learned a valuable lesson from their decisive defeat in the election of 1852 (territorial), and the organization of the party followed without undue delay. But even after organization the Whigs were not strong enough numerically to compete with the Democrats, nor were their political tactics equally as astute as those of the chief rival party.

In the Democratic Party itself leadership soon passed into the hands of a few men who came to be popularly denominated "The Salem Clique." This group was in turn dominated by

¹ *Statesman*, June 13, 1851; February 24, 1852.

the commanding personality of Asahel Bush, the editor of the *Statesman*.¹

This Salem Clique gave to Oregon an arrogant and narrowly partisan rule. Rebellion in the ranks was not tolerated, and erring members were ruthlessly read out of the party. These domineering Democratic leaders also soon found it difficult to submit to the superior power of the national government.

Their proud necks chafed under the yoke imposed by Eastern officials appointed by an unsympathetic Congress. This feeling was particularly strong during the Whig administration of President Taylor, and loud were the complaints and many the protests launched against the custom of filling Oregon offices with foreign appointees. The territorial delegate in Congress² was requested to suggest that it would be well if the people of Oregon were granted the power of electing all their territorial officers.³ The suggestion, needless to say, was unheeded. In the meantime a violent and bitter struggle was in progress in the territory between the Whig Officials and the Democratic Legislature. The tension between the two parties soon became almost unbearable. Two possible remedies appear to have suggested themselves to the Democratic leaders—statehood and independence. A movement for statehood was actually set on foot in 1851, and also in that year appeared the first accusation that the leaders of the Oregon Democracy designed at no distant day to throw off their allegiance to the United States government and attempt to set up an independent republic.⁴ If the danger existed, as seems probable, it passed away with the success of the Democrats in the presidential election of 1852.

In 1854 "the most momentous measure that passed Congress from the day the Senators and Representatives first met until

¹ Woodward, in *The Quarterly*, v. XII.

² Joseph Lane. He was elected delegate in 1851, and held that position by successive re-elections until 1859, when on Oregon's admission to the Union, he took his place as U. S. Senator from that state.

³ Letter, Humphrey to Lane, January, 1852.

⁴ Quoted in *Oregonian*, July 28, 1851.

outbreak of the Civil War" was introduced in that body—the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.¹

The storm raised by the passage of the bill was never to die away until slavery itself should be crushed. As Charles Sumner said in speaking of the act: "To every man in the land it says with clear, penetrating voice 'Are you for freedom, or are you for slavery?'" Not only did the Free-Soilers and many of the Whigs denounce the Act, but many members of the Democratic Party refused to follow their leaders in supporting it. In a document entitled the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" the bill was stigmatized as "A gross violation of a sacred pledge (the Missouri Compromise); as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World, and free laborers from our own states, and to convert it into a dreary region of despotism peopled by masters and slaves."² The great Democratic Party was nearing the rocks on which it was finally to founder.

The doctrine of Popular Sovereignty enunciated by the Kansas-Nebraska Act was one that from its very nature appealed to the people of Oregon, with their virile Western confidence in the ability of the people of a locality to manage their own affairs, and yet in the beginning there seems to have been little unanimity of opinion with regard to the bill.

Despite the dominance of the Democratic Party there were in Oregon great numbers of thinking people who opposed the farther extension of slave territory, and viewed with alarm the aggressive attitude of the Southern Democrats who were dictating the policies of the national Democratic Party.³ In 1855 the first convention of Free-Soilers was held in Oregon, and the movement inaugurated which led to the formation of the Republican Party of Oregon. There appeared, too, a visible defection in the Democratic ranks, though this was due to local rather than to national disputes.

¹ Printed in *American History Leaflets*, No. 17.

² Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, I, 490.

³ Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II, 358.

It was during these troublous times that the rumor of a plan to establish a Pacific Republic—a plan inaugurated by some of the Democratic leaders—again became persistent. In July, 1855, an editorial headed "Our Future," appeared in the *Standard* (Democratic) suggesting the idea of the formation of an independent nation west of the Rockies as being in harmony with the designs of an all-wise Providence, by whom this natural boundary had been laid down.¹

The leader ran, in brief: "In a new country there are no old associations, no stereotyped habits which filter in an accustomed routine our actions and our thoughts, but the customs which we were wont to have in our homes have given away to those which are formed by our new associations. Yes, it is indeed too true that we must look for new and energetic governments in recently settled countries. The British colonies of North America passed through a Revolution, and reared for themselves the proudest republic on the face of the earth.

"The French nation alike overturned the dynasty of Louis Philippe and established a republic also. . . . With these facts before us the future of our country demands attention. What will be the results of these causes? Can it be possible that within a few years the Pacific Coast will ask, and can secure an independent government?

"Would it be policy for them to do so? And if it would, what will be the effect of our petition to the United States Congress? Is the recently avowed doctrine of Territorial Sovereignty broad enough so that it will permit us freely to say whether we will come into the Union, or whether we will remain without, and become separate from it? If nature ever marked out the division of countries, it has done so in North America. The vast chain of the Rocky Mountains presents an unmistakable boundary, and we have reason to believe that these boundaries, laid down by an over-ruling Providence, ought to be more strictly regarded. . . . Should we secure anything to our advantage by coming into the Union which

¹ *Standard*, Portland, Oregon Territory, July, 1855. Alonzo Leland, editor.

we could not have by and of ourselves? Let us think before we act. The growing disparity of habits between us and the Atlantic States, and the pecuniary advantages or disadvantages of a separation from the states are not the only questions which ought to be considered. Is it policy for us to join a government, the different sections of which are even now antipodal on a most exciting question, and which are cultivating a spirit of disunion by their altercations?

"Do we wish to embroil ourselves in the agitation of a question which might be totally foreign to us? This agitation may cease, and in the name of heaven we hope it may—but present aspects are most cheerless. Looking at this question coolly and dispassionately, that is, the policy of uniting ourselves to a government already shaken by civil feuds and sectional dissensions, and which we should enter into by an entrance into the Union, and which we could avoid by refusing to bind ourselves by any closer ties,—we are compelled to ask seriously, what is our duty in this respect to the present and future of Oregon. These questions may be deemed visionary by fogysm,—so was that of the separation of the United States even after Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill had been wet with crimson dew, yes, and until after the Continental Congress had assembled at Philadelphia."

Carefully laying the burden on the shoulders of an overruling Providence, Oregon's Democratic leaders, with these facile arguments, tentatively broached the subject of the Pacific Coast Republic.

The leaders of opposing political complexion were not slow to take up the challenge. The *Oregonian* (Whig) was particularly bitter in its denunciation of these Revolutionary ideas. An editorial headed, "Revolutionary Filibustering in a new direction," ran as follows:¹

"Four years ago we repeatedly told the people of Oregon that the leaders of the self-styled Democratic Party designed at no distant day to throw off their allegiance to the United

¹ *Oregonian*, July 28, 1855. Thomas J. Dryer, editor.

States government. . . . We were led to this belief then from certain unmistakable evidences apparent in every act of those who then controlled, and now govern the Democratic Party of Oregon. The recklessness of their conduct, the utter disregard of law, order, or precedent, was then a subject of alarm, and has continued to increase to this hour. Whatever may be said of those who are constantly prating about their love of country, their devotion to the interests of the American Republic, . . . the facts are upon record that these men have been constantly laying their plans for a revolutionary movement, as the sequel will show. Although the party in power in this territory have had everything in their hands for the last three years, and although the leaders have been able, under their hypocritical cry of Democracy, to create, deceive, and gull the majority to sustain their measures, and to elevate an unprincipled set of demagogues to office and power; although their pensioned newspapers and party hacks have denounced for years the great fundamental principles of Americanism, yet we are not prepared to see them at this early hour throw off the mask, and declare in favor of a Revolution, and a separate government here, but nevertheless they have done so. . . . It will be remembered that upon two occasions this same party have endeavored to fasten a state government upon the people. These same men have always been the warmest advocates of a state government. The people have as often pronounced against their favorite measure. Now, in view of a strong probability, reduced almost to a certainty, of a radical change in the administration of the general government these men and their party come out in favor of a separation from the United States and the formation of a new government. Men, and particularly unprincipled men, never act without a motive. These filibusterers have a motive in view which will not fail to present itself to the mind. Their object is apparent. The time, place and occasion which has called forth this first published evidence of disaffection, will not fail to convince the honest mind of every American in the land.

Here you see a party which proclaims loud and long that Americans shall not rule America, proposing a disruption. They are endeavoring to create disaffection, anarchy, confusion, and discord among the people—urging to rebellion—a revolution against their country. What for? The object is plain to those who know and can appreciate the character and aims of the party calling itself the Democratic Party. Are the people of Oregon prepared for this movement on the party chess-board? They will, of course, indorse it, and push on the cause of disunion! We know not a few who will not take passage, no matter who may attempt to lash or goad them into this infamous measure.”

In September of the same year the Statesman had some farther information to give concerning the Revolutionary scheme.¹ A letter from an anonymous correspondent in San Francisco, reprinted from an exchange, set forth details of the plan:

“I lay before you, in advance of all publicity, a scheme which is now advancing under profound secrecy among a good number of our most respectable and influential citizens. I have no time to comment, but give you the plan, as it has been revealed to me, without any injunction of concealment. A new Republic is to be formed, consisting at first of ten states, three to be formed within the present limits of the State of California, three in Oregon Territory, two in Washington Territory, and two from western portions of Utah and New Mexico. The basis is to be a confederated government similar to yours on the Atlantic Side. The great Pacific Railroad is to be abandoned, and every obstacle thrown in the way of its construction, while the argument at the hustings is to be made to the people that the government at Washington has refused the road to the people of the Pacific. The question of slavery is to be adjured and disclaimed until the plan is so far executed that there can be no retraction, after which the southern four or five states will adopt slavery. The first convention is to be imposing in numbers, and especially in the distinguished talent

of its members. You need no information as to the number of ex-Senators, ex-Congressmen, ex-Governors, and ex-Judges who swarm in our midst, panting for one more good old-fashioned political chase. The President, Senate, Representatives, and Cabinet Ministry are all to be chosen by direct vote of the people. The naturalization laws are to be fixed on a severe basis. The act of independence is to be simultaneous with a well-planned and decisive seizure of the United States Reserves, with whatever of movables or livestock they may contain. The Sandwich Islands are to be guaranteed their independence and the United States are to be appealed to in a tone of friendly good-bye. Here you perceive an opening for all the prominent politicians, a field for the military and naval aspirants, a call for powder mills, and ordnance foundries. You may also guess how readily such a severance will be graciously received by England, France and Spain.

"I leave the subject with you without comment. Visionary as it may seem, it is not a fancy sketch; fail it may, but it is now a purpose of deep interest with the parties concerned. The first public movement will be either a society or a convention for the purpose of forming a new party to be called the Pacific Railroad Party, to draw off a majority of citizens from all old party alliances. Through this medium the Washington government is to be proscribed, and proved to be practically inadequate to our necessities. It is to be shown that we send our gold away, and receive no government protection in return, and that as we now virtually govern ourselves we might as well have the credit of it abroad. The conspirators will be startled when they see this letter in your columns, and will begin to heave the lead to find out their soundings."

If such a plan as this outlined by the unknown correspondent existed, and if it had been formulated for the reasons suggested by the Oregonian, the failure of that paper's predictions as to the presidential election of 1856, and the election of Buchanan was probably more responsible for the failure of the leaders to consummate the plan for a Pacific Coast Re-

public at this particular time, than was the untimely exposure of the plot by the press.

Although Democracy had been triumphant in 1856, it was soon evident that the breach in the ranks of the party was growing wider and wider. The Civil War in Kansas had served to swell the numbers of the Anti-Nebraska men in Oregon, as in all the northern states. Republican organization in Oregon proceeded apace.¹ The Kansas strife also reversed the stand taken by the majority of Oregonians on the statehood question, and in the election of 1857 the vote for statehood was carried by a majority of 5938.² The change in sentiment was due to the dread instilled in the hearts of the people lest scenes might in the future be enacted in Oregon corresponding to those in "Bleeding Kansas." The securing of statehood as soon as possible seemed the best method of prevention.

The question of statehood having been once decided upon, the main issue was whether Oregon should be slave or free. This was a question on which the Democratic Party as a Party dreaded to express itself, as a dissension was sure to follow. In order to avoid this shoal the Democratic Party passed a resolution; "That each member of the Democratic Party in Oregon may freely speak and act according to his individual convictions of right and policy upon the question of slavery in Oregon without in any manner impairing his standing in the Democratic Party on that account—provided that nothing in these resolutions shall be construed in toleration of black republicanism, abolition, or any other factor or organization arrayed in opposition to the Democratic Party."

Many prominent democratic leaders in Oregon took the pro-slavery side, and three out of five democratic papers were rabid advocates of slavery. Hence, although two-thirds of the Democratic Party were probably in favor of a free state constitution, there seemed imminent danger that slavery would be fastened on Oregon.³

¹ Woodward, in *The Quarterly*, XII, 130.

² Woodward, in *The Quarterly*, XII, 135.

³ *Argus*, Sept. 5, 1857.

The Constitutional Convention which assembled at Salem on August 17, 1857, determined to present the questions of slavery and of the admission of free negroes into the state as separate issues to be decided by the people when the Constitution should be submitted to them. Thus was their favorite doctrine of Popular Sovereignty nobly vindicated.

The constitution was adopted by the people of Oregon by a decisive majority.¹ Only one-fourth of the voters supported slavery, but free negroes were refused admission into the state.

In the month following that decision of the people the Democrats were confronted by the "two-edged sword" of the Dred Scott decision. An expression of opinion could not be avoided, and yet was certain to cause strife. In the regular session of the legislature December 17, 1857, a resolution was introduced: ". . . whereas slavery is tolerated by the Constitution of the United States, therefore Resolved—that the chair appoint a committee of three to report what legislation is necessary to protect the rights of persons holding slaves in this territory."

Whether, as was claimed,² the resolution was introduced in order to cause dissension in the Democratic ranks,³ that was the result. The vote on the resolution was indefinitely postponed, but the dissension that it bred could not be quelled.

Bush, the local leader of the Oregon Democracy, in the Statesman of December 8, 1857, endeavored to harmonize the Dred Scott decision with the doctrine of popular sovereignty. "It is," he said, "the very gist of the Kansas-Nebraska principle that the people are called upon when they form a state government to act upon the subject of slavery." As to the right of a citizen to have his property protected under the constitution he showed that the Constitution recognizes and protects as property within the states whatever the state laws determine to be property. In this discussion, however, he classed state governments, and people moving in the formation of state

¹ 7195 to 3215.

² *Oregonian*, Dec. 26, 1857.

³ The sponsor was Wm. Allen, a National Democrat.

governments together, and made no reference to popular sovereignty in the territories in general.

The different parties met in conventions early in 1858 to nominate state officials, in order that the state government might be ready to go into immediate operation when Oregon should be admitted to the Union. The regular Democratic convention, meeting in March, endorsed both the Kansas-Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision, in spite of the fact that Douglas, the author of the doctrine of popular sovereignty had broken with the administration over the Dred Scott decision. The platform warmly endorsed Buchanan, however, so it may be understood that Douglas was to be abandoned. The National Democrats, in a separate convention, though endorsing President Buchanan, held to the right of the people of the territories to frame and adopt their constitutions and all local laws for their own government.¹ Thus they appeared to support Douglas rather than Buchanan. The Republican State convention denounced the Dred Scott decision,² while the Whigs showed a disposition to stand with the national Democrats.³

The party lines on the question were by no means clearly drawn. Bush, though accepting nomination at the hands of the regular Democratic convention, undoubtedly preferred Douglas, but he refrained during the campaign from expressing this preference.⁴

On the other hand Joseph Lane, the territorial delegate, and hence the national representative of the regular Democratic machine, who had defended squatter sovereignty from the time of its inception, now as ably defended the Dred Scott decision.

In the ensuing Oregon election the regular Democratic Party, in spite of dissensions, was in the main successful, although in many parts of the territory the opposition (Whigs, Republicans, and National Democrats, who frequently acted together at the

¹ *Statesman*, March 23, 1858.

² *Oregonian*, April 10, 1858.

³ *Quarterly*, XII, 231.

⁴ *Quarterly*, XII, 234.

polls), showed a formidable strength. Their most conspicuous need was organization.

In July, 1858, the newly elected state legislature proceeded to elect Senators, in order that everything might be prepared for statehood. Both National Democrats and Regulars united in supporting Lane, and he and Delazon Smith, a man of similar political principles, were elected to represent the new state-to-be in the Senate.

In the meantime, the Statehood Bill was hanging fire in Congress. Before this special session of the state legislature, the bill for the admission of Oregon had passed the Senate. At the time of General Lane's election to the Senate, letters had been received from him and published in Oregon declaring that the Statehood Bill would pass the House, as there were no obstacles whatever in the way of its passage.¹ He appears, however, to have made no effort to secure its passage,² and Congress adjourned without having granted Oregon the desired boon.

Naturally suspicion was not slow to arise in the breasts of those leaders of the Oregon Democracy who were already inclined to distrust Lane's honesty and sincerity of purpose. A cry of rage went up from Oregon when it was known that the Statehood Bill had failed of passage. In the *Statesman*, Bush gave vent to the popular outcry in a scathing editorial denouncing Lane, whom he had hitherto supported.³

The testimony that he adduced went to show that Lane was holding off the admission of the state until he could be certain of his election to the office of Senator. Later, however, a more sinister view was taken of his course, and he was accused in view of the approaching national crisis, of wishing to put Oregon into the position of a state outside the Union.

Viewing his actions in this light, very significant is the message sent by Governor Curry of Oregon, Lane's close friend, to

¹ *Statesman*, March 15, 1859.

² *Statesman*, Dec. 21, 1858.

³ *Statesman*, Dec. 21, 1858.

the territorial legislature which assembled in December, 1858.¹ After deploring the fact that Oregon had not been admitted as a state, he went on to show that the whole territorial system of the United States was unconstitutional. He said:

"It is wrong in principle. There is no provision of the Constitution which confers the right to acquire territory to be retained as territory, and governed by Congress with absolute authority. Nor, by the terms of the federal compact, can the people of the United States who choose to go out and reside upon the vacant territory of the nation be regarded as mere adventurers, without individual political rights, and be made to yield a ready obedience to whatever laws Congress may deem best for their government, and to pay implicit deference to the authority of such officers as may be sent out to rule them. No such power has ever been delegated by the sovereign people of the sovereign states to the government of the United States, and no such principle underlies the government. . . . In reference to that clause of the Constitution which gives Congress power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States, which is contended for as the source from which Congress derives the power to govern the territories, that tribunal (the Supreme Court) has clearly determined that no such power exists therein. . . . In my judgment Congress has no constitutional authority to establish governments anywhere upon the public domain or to create and ordain any species of constitution or organic law for the government of any civil community anywhere within the boundary of the United States."

Such ideas enunciated at this critical time could not but arouse distrust. Lane later advised the people to put the state government into operation without awaiting the consent of Congress, but largely owing to the influence of Bush this suggestion was not adopted.

¹ *Statesman*, Dec. 4, 1858.

At first, as has been indicated, the regular Democratic organization in Oregon had supported Buchanan, while the Nationals had appeared to veer toward Douglas. As time went on public sentiment began to change, and by the latter part of December many of those who had once been loudest in lauding Buchanan had become supporters of Douglas, and vice versa. Bush who had always secretly favored Douglas was by no means the last to openly shift his allegiance to that leader.

In the meantime, February 12, 1859, the Statehood Bill was passed by the House, and on February 14 it became law. The bill had been regarded in Congress as a party issue, and the debate over it had been long and acrimonious. The Republicans opposed the admission of Oregon ostensibly because the territory lacked the necessary population, but really because, while Kansas with a greater population had been refused admission unless she would accept a pro-slavery constitution, Oregon with less population was to be admitted with a constitution prohibiting the entrance of free negroes into the state. They justly considered the distinction unfair. Then even more influential was the fact that a closely contested presidential election was at hand, and Oregon with her democratic delegation might cast the decisive vote. At any rate, her delegation would materially increase the strength of the Democratic Party in Congress.

The ultra-southern Democrats steadfastly opposed the bill because they feared the admission of any more northern states, whether Democratic or otherwise, or possibly because they, too, desired to see Oregon a state outside the Union. Today it is freely admitted that had Oregon failed of admission before the election of 1860 she could not have been received before 1864 or 1865, and with secession doctrines so rife in Oregon what the result might have been is difficult to tell.¹

The Statehood Bill would most certainly have failed of passage had it not been that fifteen republicans, inspired by Eli Thayer of Massachusetts, revolted against the party dictum

¹ Conversation with Mr. George H. Himes.

and supported the admission of Oregon. As it was, the new state was admitted by a majority of 114 to 108.¹

The final passage of the bill did much to restore the lost prestige of Lane in Oregon, although there seems to be no good reason for giving him any credit for its passage. Rather the opposite. Reconciliation between Bush, the leader of the Regular Democrats, and Lane was impossible, but the National Democrats were ready to fly to the support of the latter. Their views were largely similar to his, and with him at their head they hoped once more to secure control of the party machinery.²

In this they were successful, and in the democratic convention of April 20, 1859, Bush was forced to see his enemies in control of the party from which he had practically read them out in earlier years: to see their tenets laid down as planks in the party platform, and their candidates nominated for office. It was a bitter blow. Bush was not, however, without means of defense, and the columns of the *Statesman* for the years 1859, 1860 and 1861 blaze with denunciations of Lane and his party.

As dissensions among the Democrats increased the Republicans were growing stronger, and straining every effort to form a party organization strong enough to defeat the Democrats at the polls. The Republican Convention which met in April, 1859, avowed the strongest devotion to the Union; announced its opposition to the further extension of slavery; but denied the right of the government to interfere with the institution in the states where it already existed. A declaration was also made in favor of popular sovereignty, which, while not a good Republican principle, would certainly strengthen their position in Oregon, as it was a doctrine on which Oregonians had been bred and nurtured, and to which they clung, whether Democrats or Republicans. The Republicans, then, condemned the Dred Scott decision, but upheld popular sovereignty: the radical Democrats, who under the leadership of Lane had gained con-

¹ Franklin P. Rice, Eli Thayer and the admission of Oregon in *Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary of the admission of Oregon to the Union, Feb., 1909.*

² *Quarterly*, XII, 248.

trol of the party machinery, supported the Dred Scott decision, while the followers of Bush clung to the doctrine of absolute non-intervention, popular sovereignty carried to the nth degree. It can readily be seen that even thus soon the bonds uniting Oregon Republicans and Douglas Democrats were closer than those connecting the latter with the Radical Democracy.

The elections of 1859 were pregnant with meaning. The machine Democrats were successful, but their candidate for Congressman was elected by a bare majority of 16 votes, and their majorities everywhere were dangerously cut down. Undoubtedly many of the Douglas Democrats had cast their votes for Republican candidates. This was a grim presage of the end.

The time for choosing delegates to the national nominating conventions was now at hand. The Radical Democrats had secured control of the State Central Committee, from which was issued a call for a State Democratic convention to elect delegates to the National Democratic Convention which was to be held at Charleston in the ensuing year to select the presidential candidate of the party. ¹Lane hoped to so arrange the representation in the state convention as to secure his own recommendation as a candidate for the presidency. His tactics were understood by the opposition. The result was a split in the convention which resulted in the withdrawal of the representatives of eight counties. After this withdrawal, Lane, Matthew P. Deady, and Lansing Stout, were chosen as delegates and instructed to do every thing in their power to secure the nomination of Lane for either the presidency or the vice-presidency by the Charleston convention.²

This National Democratic Convention met at Charleston April 23, 1860. The story of the split in the Democratic Party which occurred there is well known. When the pro-slavery delegates withdrew at the adoption of the Douglas platform, Lane, who had not attended the convention, telegraphed the

¹ *Quarterly*, XII, 260.

² *Statesman*, Nov. 22, 1859.

Oregon delegation to withdraw with the ultras.¹ At the Seceder's convention which met in Baltimore, Breckinridge was nominated for President and Lane for Vice-President. Lane's nomination was undoubtedly due to the fact that it was understood that he would be able to swing the vote of the Pacific States. It was soon to appear that this was a vain hope.

The news of Lane's instructions to the Oregon delegation and the report of the doings of the Seceder's convention aroused a storm of indignation among the Douglas Democrats of Oregon. Speculation was rife as to the plans of the Breckinridge party, and news of their disunion plans was not slow to filter through the press. Again was revived the rumor of a projected Pacific Republic.

The *Statesman* of July 17, 1860, under the head of "The Lane and Gwin Conspiracy" said:²

"It is openly charged by Washington correspondents that Gwin (Senator from California) and Lane have entered into a conspiracy with Southern Congressmen to break up the Democratic organization as a preliminary step to breaking up the Union, out of which three republics are to be formed. The states east to be divided on the line of the free and slave states, forming two governments, and the Pacific Slope to constitute the third. But the dream of these political gamesters will not be accomplished, in their lifetime, at least. Even in the event that a secession movement should take place in the cotton states, California and Oregon when the test comes will remain true to the Union."

During the following year the Republican and Douglas-Democratic Press offered from time to time more detailed information as to the great conspiracy. It was shown³ that the Senators and Representatives from California, the Senator and Representatives from Oregon and the delegation from Washington Territory, representing altogether a little more than a million of people, had held a caucus and resolved to favor

¹ *Statesman*, July 3, 1860.

² *Statesman*, July 17, 1860.

³ *Statesman*, July 24.

disunion and the formation of three separate republics, and that the formation of a Pacific Coast Republic was broached and advocated in case of a dissolution of the Union by Senator Latham of California. In December, 1860, fairly complete details of the plan were given.¹ The Pacific Republic was to be an aristocracy after the model of the ancient republic of Venice, all the power being vested in an hereditary nobility, the chief executive being elected on a very limited suffrage. Slaves were to be procured by inviting coolies, South Sea Islanders, and negroes to immigrate to California, and then reducing them to slavery. Gwin, it appeared, favored a separate republic on the Pacific Coast because he feared that the aggressive policy of the southern leaders would be likely to involve the other states in continual difficulties. While the details of the plan might excite suspicion as the elaborations of a journalistic imagination, the truth of the main outline appears to have been fairly well substantiated.

In commenting on the plan Bush of the *Statesman* said:

"What a ridiculous figure would the Pacific Republic cut among the nations. With a population of little more than half a million scarcely able to protect ourselves from the inroads of the Indians upon our borders, hardly rich enough to sustain the expenses of our economical state governments, and dependent upon the bounty of the general government for military protection, mail facilities, and for the salaries of a large number of our public functionaries, what would be our fate were we to cast ourselves loose from the protection and assistance which we receive from it. Burdened with a host of new officers and salaries, poor, feeble, defenceless contemptible, we should become the spoil of arrogant officials at home, and be at the mercy of every petty rival abroad. Now we rejoice in the pride of our strength—the strength of a great and powerful nation. Sundered from our parent states our pitiable weakness would render us a bye-word and a reproach among

¹ *Statesman*, December 10, 1860; other references in *Argus*, Aug. 25, 1860; *Argus*, Dec. 29, 1860; *Statesman*, July 31, 1860.

neighboring nations. With Mexico upon one side, British Columbia on the other, a defenseless sea-coast in front, and a horde of hostile savages and marauding Mormons in the rear, and unable to protect ourselves on any side, we could only preserve our existence by forming an alliance with some powerful government which could afford us protection at the price of our liberty."

In September the Oregon legislature met to elect Senators to fill the place already vacated by Smith and that soon to be vacated by Lane. The report of Lane's disunion projects had by this time irreparably damaged his reputation. Alarmed at the reports of the disunion conspiracy, the Douglas Democrats and the Republicans formed what was practically a fusion party with the one object of defeating Lane and his party.¹ After a prolonged and bitter struggle the election resulted in the choosing of J. W. Nesmith, a Douglas Democrat, and Colonel E. D. Baker, a Republican, as Senators. A political Revolution of no mean importance had taken place, and Oregon's Union sentiments were vindicated.

On the sixth of November, 1860, the presidential vote was cast, and by the ninth it was known not only that Lincoln was elected, but that the Republicans had carried Oregon.

There followed shortly after the news of the secession of South Carolina, and early in 1861 of five other states. At first, in Oregon as in many other northern states was heard the cry, "Let the erring sisters depart in peace," but later a more war-like tone developed among Republicans and Douglas Democrats. The Radical Democratic press, however, warmly supported the seceders.²

Lane of course openly stood with the Secessionists. In several speeches in the United States Senate, he warmly defended the action of the seceding states, and indicated that Oregon's sympathies would be with them.³ Personal pledges

¹ Prophecied May 12, 1859, in a letter from Jesse Applegate to J. W. Nesmith.

² See issues of *Oregon Democrat* 1861.

³ Speeches of Dec. 5, 1860; Jan. 15, 1861; Mch. 2, 1861. *Cong. Globe*, 2d session, 36th Congress Pt. 1, 8, 17, Pt. II, 1343, 1349.

are said to have been given to Jefferson Davis that the Pacific Coast States would be disloyal to the Union.¹ It seems strange that such an experienced politician as Lane should have failed to read the lesson written in the election of 1860. Latham of California was the wiser, for he admitted in a speech in the Senate that California would undoubtedly remain true to the Union.² Yet there seems to have been greater danger from the disunion party in California than in Oregon.³

Although the Radical Democratic party still had a strong following in Oregon, the fact that the Republicans had carried the state in 1860 made it fairly certain that no disunion scheme could have weight in Oregon. A leading politician writing to Senator Nesmith early in 1861 said: "You will see a good deal of blowing about a Pacific Republic for this coast. It does n't amount to anything now. If the Union should go into more than two pieces then it would most likely become a fact, and rather a small one."⁴ Certainly there had been little chance of such a movement succeeding. While many people in Oregon believed in the sacred right of secession, but few were sufficiently interested to take up arms in defense of the right.

As the War went on, the various disunion papers edited in Oregon, one by one laid themselves open to prosecution and were suppressed. While in parts of the state men at first went to the elections armed, lest the pro-slavery party should attempt to re-enact the scenes of the Kansas-Nebraska strife, as they threatened to do,⁵ the sense of danger gradually passed away, and a sense of security returned.

¹ Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress*, I, 308.

² *Congressional Globe*, 2d session, 36th Congress, Pt. I, 684.

³ See *San Francisco Weekly Bulletin* Oct. 18, 1862, for schemes of California disunionists. When the plan for a Pacific Republic was abandoned they planned the seizure of the Mexican province of Sonora, which the French also coveted. At the commencement of the war, California secessionists had formed a league of Knights of the Golden Circle, taking oath to support a Pacific Coast Republic, and had planned the seizure of the Custom House and the Mint in San Francisco, the Navy Yard at Mare Island, and the depot at Benicia. Fortunately their plans failed, because the person chosen to lead the attack upon the public buildings named refused to accept the responsibility; and before another leader could be agreed upon, Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, U. S. A., assumed command at the Presidio in San Francisco, thus relieving Col. Albert Sidney Johnston, who went into the Southern States via Mexico at once.

⁴ Deady to Nesmith, Feb. 28, 1861.

⁵ Conversation with Mr. George H. Himes.

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OREGON'S NOMINATION OF LINCOLN

By LESLIE M. SCOTT

That Horace Greeley brought about the nomination of Lincoln for President in 1860, and that Oregon seated Greeley in the nominating convention, are central details of a political narrative which distinguishes Oregon in National annals at the beginning of its statehood career.

It is within the bounds of probability to say that Lincoln would not have won the nomination without the influence of Greeley. We may not go so far as to add that Greeley would have had no seat in the convention without an Oregon proxy; but it is significant that the seat he occupied was Oregon's—a State then but fifteen months a member of the Union, a State, moreover, that symbolized the fullest Western idea and marked the farthest Western expansion of the Nation.

The Republican National convention of 1860, at Chicago, was more vital to the country in its consequences than any other political gathering, save the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The convention of 1860 chose the leader who saved the National unity. We can hardly doubt that the Chicago meeting, in this great crisis, felt the guiding influence of that Providence which is ever watchful in a State, and sent Oregon to the fore and made the great New York editor its messenger.

Oregon had six seats in that convention. Oregon men sat in three of them—Joel Burlingame, of Scio; Henry Buckingham, of Salem; Frank Johnson, of Oregon City. Two seats were occupied by nonresidents—Horace Greeley, of New York City, and Eli Thayer, Member of Congress from Massachusetts. The sixth place was vacant.

Greeley had opposed the admission of Oregon because of the general antislavery fear of its Democratic adherence. Thayer had joined the Democrats of Congress in admitting

Oregon, and the disfavor of his constituents in this matter defeated him for Congress in the next election.

Before proceeding with details of the convention it may be in place to narrate briefly the matters that led up to the bestowal of an Oregon proxy on Greeley.

The Republican party in Oregon was active and resolute, but was a minority. It carried the State afterwards in 1860 for Lincoln by a small plurality over the Breckinridge and Douglas factions of the Democratic party. The antislavery leaders were determined to be represented in the Chicago convention.

But Oregon was four or five weeks distant from the Eastern centers. There was no transcontinental telegraph until October 24, 1861, to San Francisco, and until March 5, 1864, to Portland (through line). News was transmitted by mail to and from the Eastern States, either by the pony express, *via* Salt Lake and Sacramento, or by the Isthmus of Panama. Oregon Republicans could not follow Eastern politics closely enough to participate in the preliminary movements. Its delegates, therefore, had to be free to exercise their own judgments as to the fittest course to pursue.

The Republican State convention met at Salem, April 21, 1859—more than a year ahead of the National convention. The State convention did not know what the apportionment of delegates for Oregon would be, but could not wait for the apportionment notice to arrive, probably nine months later, because the next State convention would not meet early enough to choose the delegates. So the State convention of 1859, taking for granted that Oregon would have at least three delegates—that being its electoral vote for President—chose that number of delegates—A. G. Hovey, Dr. W. Warren and Leander Holmes. It instructed them to support William H. Seward, of New York, for President, “but, in case they cannot secure his nomination, their further proceedings are left to their discretion.”

At that time, in 1859, Seward was the leading candidate of the Republican party. But in the ensuing year another figure loomed big on the political horizon, Lincoln, of Illinois. Moreover, Missouri had a favorite son, Edward Bates, who had a large following in Oregon, because of the many pioneers here from Missouri. So that, as the date of the National convention drew near, sentiment of Oregon Republicans had largely changed from its earlier favor of Seward.

That date, it was supposed, would be June 13, but the notice of apportionment, received in Oregon late in March, named May 16. In the Oregon City *Argus* of March 31, 1860, we find:

"By the latest news from the Atlantic we learn that the time for holding the Republican Convention at Chicago has been changed to the sixteenth day of May—nearly a month earlier than was at first decided upon. This will cause inconvenience to some of the delegates appointed to represent this State, and we learn that Leander Holmes, Esq., in consequence of his inability to attend, has empowered Horace Greeley to act in his stead and cast his vote for Edward Bates."

In the apportionment, Oregon was allotted six delegates, or three more than chosen by the State convention of the year before. As the next Republican State convention would not meet until April 19, 1860, and that would not give three additional delegates, if chosen at that late day, time to reach Chicago by May 16, the Republican State Central Committee—Henry W. Corbett, of Multnomah, W. Carey Johnson, of Clackamas, and E. D. Shattuck, of Multnomah—named, as the extra delegates, Henry W. Corbett, Joel Burlingame and Franklin Johnson, and authorized them to appoint their substitutes as proxies.

Of the six delegates named, only two attended the convention—Mr. Burlingame, who went East for interment of the body of his wife, and Mr. Johnson, who was a divinity student at Hamilton, New York. Mr. Holmes sent his proxy to Horace Greeley, and Mr. Corbett to Eli Thayer. Either Mr. Hovey or Dr. Warren gave a proxy to Henry Buckingham, of Oregon. The sixth delegate was not represented in the National convention. These details are corroborated by

the following letter signed "F" (probably Henry Failing), printed in *The Oregonian*, October 20, 1896 (p. 12):

"The appointments were made a long year before the meeting of the convention (National), and, of course, long before the call was issued. It was taken for granted that Oregon would be entitled to a representation equal to its electoral vote.

"At that time, Mr. Seward was the most prominent candidate for the nomination, and, in fact, no other candidate had, as yet, developed any great strength. During the year [following], however, a considerable change took place in the sentiment of the party in Oregon, and it is hardly probable that the same instruction would have been given in 1860.

"In fact, it was considered by many that the delegates could hardly be bound by instructions given so long in advance, but ought to be at liberty to exercise their riper judgment. Edward Bates, of Missouri, was the favorite candidate of *The Oregonian*, then edited by Thomas J. Dryer, and there was much discussion as to how far the delegates were bound. *The Oregonian* and the *Eugene People's Press*, Mr. Pengra's paper [B. J. Pengra] taking opposite sides of the question.

"When the call for the Chicago convention came out, it was found that Oregon was entitled to six delegates, and, as the State convention would not assemble in time to fill the list [not until April 19, 1860], the State Central Committee—H. W. Corbett, E. D. Shattuck and W. C. Johnson—appointed three additional delegates. They were: Henry W. Corbett, Joel Burlingame [father of Anson Burlingame], and Frank Johnson [the Reverend Frank Johnson, D. D.]

"The convention was originally called to meet on the sixteenth [thirteenth] of June, 1860, but the date was changed a few days later to the sixteenth of May. This upset the arrangements of several of the delegates, as they had so timed their departure for the East that they could not reach Chicago in time [for the earlier date]. Mr. Holmes sent his proxy to Horace Greeley. Mr. Corbett sent his to Eli Thayer, member of Congress from Massachusetts. Frank Johnson was already in the East, a divinity student at Hamilton, New York, and attended the convention in person. Mr. Burlingame, I think, went to Chicago in person. What Mr. Hovey or Dr. Warren did I do not remember, if I ever knew, but I think Leander Holmes' was the only proxy held by Greeley.

"Mr. Corbett and Mr. Holmes both went East, according to

their original plans, arriving after the nomination of Lincoln was accomplished."

In Parton's *Life of Horace Greeley* appears a brief explanation (pp. 442-43), written by Mr. Greeley, of how he obtained the Oregon proxy. He says:

"My mind had been long before deliberately made up that the nomination of Governor Seward for President was undesirable and unsafe. Yet I had resolved to avoid this convention for obvious reasons. But when, some four or five weeks since, I received letters from Oregon apprising me that, of the six delegates appointed and fully expecting to attend from that State, but two would be able to do so, on account of the very brief notice they had of the change of time of holding the convention, and that Mr. Leander Holmes, one of those who had been appointed and clothed with full power of substitution, had appointed and requested me to act, in his stead, I did not feel at liberty to refuse the duty thus imposed on me. Of the four letters that simultaneously reached me—one from Mr. Holmes, another from Mr. Corbett, chairman of the Republican State Committee, a third from the editor of a leading Republican journal [Thomas J. Dryer of *The Oregonian*, or W. L. Adams of the Oregon City *Argus*] and a fourth from an eminent ex-editor [Simeon Francis]—at least three indicated Bates as the decided choice of Oregon for President, and the man who would be most likely to carry it—a very natural preference, since a large proportion of the people of Oregon emigrated from Missouri. One of them suggested Mr. Lincoln as also a favorite, many Illinoisans being now settled in Oregon."

The National convention took three ballots to nominate Lincoln, as follows:

First ballot—William H. Seward, of New York, 173½; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 102; Edward Bates, of Missouri, 48; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, 50½; John McLean, of Ohio, 12; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, 49; Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, 3; William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 14; John M. Reed, of Pennsylvania, 1; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, 10; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, 1; John C. Fremont, of California, 1; whole number of votes cast, 465; necessary to a choice, 233.

Second ballot—Seward, 184½; Lincoln, 181; Bates, 35; Cameron, 2; McLean, 8; Chase, 42½; Dayton, 10; Cassius M.

Clay, of Kentucky, 2; whole number of votes cast, 465; necessary to a choice, 233.

Third ballot (preliminary)—Seward, 180; Lincoln, 231½; Bates, 22; McLean, 5; Chase, 24½; Dayton, 1; Clay, 1; (final) Lincoln, 364; changes to Lincoln, in the order as given in *Official Proceedings*, Ohio, 4; New York, 10; Maine, 10; Pennsylvania, 1; New Hampshire, 1; Rhode Island, 3; Connecticut, 4; Ohio (again), 13; Missouri, 18; Iowa, 2½; Kentucky, 10; Minnesota, 8; Virginia, 8; California, 5; Texas, 6; District of Columbia, 2; Kansas, 6; Nebraska, 5; Oregon, 1; others, 15; total change to Lincoln, 132½.

Oregon's vote—first ballot: Bates, 5; second ballot, Bates, 5; third ballot (preliminary), Lincoln 4, Seward 1; (final) Lincoln 5.

On the preliminary third ballot, Lincoln with 231½ votes lacked but 1½ votes of the majority to nominate. The stampede to him started with Ohio, whose delegate, D. K. Carter, announced the change of 4 Ohio votes to Lincoln. Delegates from other States joined the rush to Lincoln, and, finally, as reported in the *Official Proceedings*, a delegate from Oregon, who, on the preliminary third ballot, had voted for Seward, also changed to Lincoln, thus giving the nominee the full five votes of this State. The identity of this fifth man is unknown to the present writer. It may be in place to point out, at this juncture, that this one vote, on the third ballot, was the only Oregon vote given to Seward, and that the delegates thus were exercising the "discretion" which the Oregon Republican convention of April 21, 1859, had allowed to them. Also, it may be pertinent to add that Oregon gave four votes to the preliminary movement to Lincoln on the third ballot, and, at last, gave Lincoln its other vote, with the announcement of one of its delegates (name unknown): "Oregon also casts her unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln"; further, that Greeley, evidently, either joined the Oregon majority that voted first for Bates and then for Lincoln, or led that majority. And it is important to note that Oregon's member of the committee on platform and resolutions was Mr. Greeley.

When Ohio gave Lincoln the final votes that made the majority of the convention, there was a moment's pause, "like the sudden and breathless stillness that precedes a hurricane," says Holland's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*" (chap. xv.). Then:

"The storm of wild, uncontrollable and almost insane enthusiasm descended. The scene surpassed description. During all the balloting, a man had been standing upon the roof, communicating the results to the outsiders, who, in surging masses, far outnumbered those who were packed into the Wigwam. To this man one of the secretaries shouted: 'Fire the salute! Abe Lincoln is nominated!' Then as the cheering inside died away, the roar began on the outside, and swelled up from the excited masses like the noise of many waters. This the insiders heard, and to it they replied. Thus deep called to deep with such a frenzy of sympathetic enthusiasm that even the thundering salute of cannon was unheard by many upon the platform."

Further light is thrown on Oregon's and Greeley's participation in the National convention, by a letter of Frank Johnson, printed in the Oregon City *Argus*, July 14, 1860. The letter was dated at Hamilton, New York, June 1. It said in part:

"The first hearty outburst of enthusiasm was on the announcement of Horace Greeley as member of the committee on platform and resolutions, from Oregon. It was received with universal applause, and cries of 'When did you move?' from those near him."

Speaking of the report of the committee on resolutions, the letter continued:

"The result is the most perfect and unequivocal statement of Republican faith ever written, the wisest and most diplomatic points of which I think I am safe in saying Oregon had the honor to contribute. Each section of the report was received with hearty applause by the house as it was read.

"During the third ballot there was tolerable order, until Oregon declared for Lincoln, rendering his nomination certain. At this point the enthusiasm became irrepressible; the Wigwam was shaken with cheers from twenty-three thousand Republicans, which were renewed as State after State declared its unanimous vote for 'the man who could split rails and maul Democrats.' The cheering was redoubled when a rather premature salute announced his nomination, and several distinguished men

are said to have wept. It was perhaps half an hour before Mr. Evarts, chairman of the New York delegation, could secure a sufficient silence to move that the choice of the convention be made unanimous."

In the membership of convention committees, the Oregon delegates were placed as follows: Committee on permanent organization, Frank Johnson; committee on credentials, Joel Burlingame; committee on order of business, Eli Thayer; committee on resolutions, Horace Greeley; vice presidents of the convention (twenty-six others), Joel Burlingame; secretary of the convention (twenty-five others), Eli Thayer.

The Oregon delegates did not engage in the floor discussions of the convention, but the proxy delegates, Greeley and Thayer, did so briefly. Greeley moved that each State delegation present the credentials of its members and that any disputes be referred to the committee on credentials. D. K. Cartter, of Ohio, moved "to amend the proposition of a gentleman from Oregon or New York, Mr. Greeley, I am not sure which" (laughter) that all credentials be presented to the committee on credentials. Greeley answered:

"I accept the amendment of the gentleman from Maryland or Rhode Island, I am not particular which" (laughter and applause.)

A short time later Greeley moved for a call of the States for the purpose of appointing a committee on platform, but withdrew the motion in favor of one from Cartter for appointment of such committee, one member from each State, by calling the roll of the States. The motion was laid on the table, pending permanent organization of the convention, and the committee was appointed at the evening session, the objection being that the motion then was premature. Greeley and Thayer urged immediate procedure for the committee, the latter declaring "The State of Oregon is now ready," but the matter went over.

When the committee on rules and order of business reported the order of the roll call, William D. Kelly, of Philadelphia, while defending the recommendation of the committee, that included the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska and the Dis-

trict of Columbia in the roll call, was interrupted twice by a voice, "How about Oregon?" Whereupon he answered:

"Oregon is a constituted State and there was no question about Oregon."

Evidently the voice was not informed that Oregon had been admitted as a State fifteen months before, on February 14, 1859.

Oregon spoke again when the convention was considering the report of the committee on resolutions and platform. Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, moved to amend by inserting a clause of the Declaration of Independence, relating to the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This amendment was lost, after Thayer, proxy from Oregon, said:

"I agree with the venerable delegate from Ohio [Giddings] in all that he has affirmed to this convention concerning the privileges of the Declaration of Independence. There are also many other truths than are enunciated in that Declaration of Independence—truths of science, truths of physical science, truths of government, and great religious truths; but it is not the business, I think, of this convention, at least it is not the purpose of this party, to embrace in its platforms all the truths that the world in all its past history has recognized. (Applause.) Mr. President, I believe in the ten commandments, but I do not want them in a political platform."

"Giddings left the convention and then, to placate him, his amendment later was adopted, on motion of George William Curtis, of New York, one of the youngest delegates from that State.

"The platform was adopted amid demonstrations of the wildest enthusiasm," says Holland's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (chap. xv.) "An eye witness of the scene says: 'All the thousands of men in that enormous Wigwam commenced swinging their hats, and cheering with intense enthusiasm; and the other thousands of ladies waved their handkerchiefs and clapped their hands. The roar that went up from that mass of ten thousand beings is indescribable. Such a spectacle as was presented for some minutes has never before been witnessed at a convention. A herd of buffaloes or lions could not have made a more tremendous roaring.'"

We have narrated Oregon's part in the momentous convention that took three days at Chicago, May 16-17-18, 1860, to choose the Great Emancipator and the savior of the Union.

Behind the scenes, in the unconscious shiftings of the convention, worked the great editor of New York; the man whom Oregon sent there, the man whom the leaders of the party in his own State tried to shut out of the convention, the man, moreover, who, in the words of Seward's friends, turned the trick to the favorite of Illinois and thus worked out an old grudge that had smouldered many years unknown in the bosom of the editor.

The editor denied the grudge; perhaps the friends of Seward exaggerated it; perhaps the editor was unconscious of it; certainly Oregon knew nothing of it. Truly, in the nomination of the man who was to save the Nation from dissolution, the words of the poet had further proof:

God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform.

Defeat in the National convention was a heavy blow to Seward; also to Thurlow Weed, his political manager, and to Henry J. Raymond, founder and editor of the *New York Times*, keen rival of Greeley's *New York Tribune*. Weed and Raymond ascribed the defeat to Greeley and bitterly denounced his motives as those of revenge growing out of Greeley's failure to win the Whig nomination for Governor of New York in 1854, and the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor in that year, of Raymond. Weed got his revenge in February, 1861, by defeating Greeley in a close caucus contest for United States Senator—but that is another story.

Seward's enemies in the National convention of 1860 were of various kinds. There were cumulative hostilities from the Fillmore element of 1856, the Democratic Free Soilers, the Know Nothings and the foes of the Weed political machine. Greeley worked cleverly on these elements. His influence contributed greatly to ally them against Seward. Unaided, Greeley could have done little or nothing; but these forces fitted to his hand; the result was the greatest political stroke of his career.

In Parton's *Life of Horace Greeley*, the *Tribune* editor's work is thus described (pp. 442-43):

"The general expectation was that Mr. Seward would receive the nomination for the first office. . . . The person chiefly instrumental in frustrating the hopes of Mr. Seward's friends was the editor of the *Tribune*. At least we may say, with the utmost confidence, that, had Mr. Greeley, in his newspaper and at Chicago, given a hearty support to Mr. Seward, that gentleman would have been nominated."

Likewise ascribing the defeat of Seward to Greeley, Edward Everett Hale, Jr., in his *William H. Seward*, says (p. 259):

"This was a very great surprise and disappointment to Seward's political friends, and to himself. It was ascribed to a number of causes, notably the course of Horace Greeley, who had attended the convention with a view of supporting Bates, on the ground that Seward could not be elected."

Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, in his *William Henry Seward* (p. 215), says Greeley was ready to support anybody to beat Seward; "And it has been said that, when Seward was actually defeated, he [Greeley] openly gave thanks that he was even with him at last." This author admits that the influence of Greeley was probably exaggerated, but does not deny that it was effective. "Greeley bided his time," continues Lothrop, "and in 1860 went from New York to Chicago as a delegate from Oregon to the Republican convention that he might do all in his power to get even with Seward and defeat his nomination."

Editor Raymond, Greeley's newspaper protege and later his rival, who had supplanted Greeley with Seward and Weed in the State Whig convention of 1854, was badly cut up by Seward's defeat in 1860. Knowing these associations, we may more intimately judge his comments in the *New York Times*, in a letter written from Auburn, New York, after an interview with Seward, following the convention:

"The great point aimed at was Mr. Seward's defeat; and, in that endeavor, Mr. Greeley labored harder and did tenfold more than the whole family of Blairs, together with the gubernatorial candidates to whom he modestly hands over the honors of the effective campaign. . . . It is perfectly safe to say that no other man—certainly no one occupying a position less favorable for such an assault—could possibly have accomplished

that result. We deem it only just to Mr. Greeley thus early to award him the full credit for the main result of the Chicago convention."

Raymond said that Greeley inflicted the defeat by concealing his personal motives of revenge under professions of general friendship for Seward, and by representing that the sacrifice of Seward was necessary for party success. These professions and his long political association with Seward gave Greeley, said Raymond, a hold on Republican sentiment and a weight of authority; also: "Mr. Greeley was in Chicago several days before the meeting of the convention, and he devoted every hour of the interval to the most steady and relentless prosecution of the main business which took him there—the defeat of Governor Seward." The result, continued Raymond, was "the deadly effect of his pretended friendship for the man upon whom he was thus deliberately wreaking the long-hoarded revenge of a disappointed office seeker."

Thus came Oregon into the great political affairs of the country at the time of its own beginnings as a State and in the greatest crisis of the Nation. It came into those great affairs through the small resentments of rival men, thus proving again that momentous things turn on events seemingly insignificant. For while Greeley's disappointed enemies may go too far in attributing Greeley's course to the political revenge of an unsuccessful office seeker, yet it would seem that Greeley's purposes did partly grow out of personal antagonisms. History amply proves that the desires of all the greatest men are made that way; that antagonisms make the subconscious motives of their actions, just as the wish or the regret becomes the father to the thought.

But it is fair to say that not office-seeking disappointments impelled Greeley against Seward and Weed so much as their recognition and support of his rival, Raymond, especially after his long work for their political fortunes. Greeley had done much for them; he had been their hewer of wood and the drawer of water; they had done nothing for him; and they added insult to injury by casting him aside and taking Raymond as a political partner. Those who know the human-

nature side of newspaper men can catch a glimpse of the inner consciousness of the editor Greeley, and realize how willing Greeley must have been to answer the summons of Oregon to represent it in the convention against Seward.

Greeley countered these aspersions, of course, with the skill of a great editor in a journalistic duello. If his motives harked back to the subconscious experience of shabby treatment at the hands of Seward and Weed, yet the modern reader can hardly doubt the sincerity of his purposes.

"I went to Chicago," he wrote, "to do my best to nominate Judge Bates, unless facts, there developed, should clearly render another choice advisable." The reader will remember a quotation from this same statement of Greeley's quoted earlier in this article, narrating how he acquired the Oregon proxy and recognized the obligation that went with it to support Bates, who was a favorite of Oregon Republicans. "I reiterate that I think Judge Bates would have been the wiser choice. There is no truer, more faithful, more deserving Republican than Abraham Lincoln; probably no nomination could have been made more conducive to certain triumph; and yet I feel that the selection of Edward Bates would have been more farsighted, more courageous, more magnanimous." Greeley added that the true cause of Seward's defeat was not his (Greeley's) opposition to him, but the conviction, on the part of the delegates from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Indiana, that the nomination of Seward would jeopardize the election in those States. Greeley said later, in response to Raymond's letter (quoted in the foregoing) aspersing Greeley's motives as those of revenge:

"If ever in my life I discharged a public duty in utter disregard of personal considerations, I did so at Chicago last month. . . . Our personal intercourse [with Seward] as well since as before my letter herewith published, had always been frank and kindly, and I was never insensible to his many good and some great qualities, both of head and heart. But I did not and do not believe it advisable that he should be the Republican candidate for President."

The "letter herewith published" referred to by Greeley in the foregoing paragraph, Greeley had written November 11, 1854, after the state election, for whose nomination as Gov-

ernor, Seward and Weed had neglected Greeley and had nominated Raymond for Lieutenant Governor. The latter, addressed to Seward, terminated the old-time political firm, commonly known as Seward, Weed and Greeley, and complained of the firm's neglect toward Greeley, in distribution of offices and recognition, during a period of nearly twenty years. The letter was an indiscreet one; it betrayed a resentful spirit and it armed Seward's friends with shafts of criticism and derision for later attacks on Greeley. As already noted the real motive of Greeley's hostility, if it came from personal animus, and it probably did in some measure, probably was the favor bestowed by Seward and Weed, after Greeley had borne their burdens patiently many years, upon Greeley's competitor in the newspaper field, Henry J. Raymond. The Seward biographers have been unsparing of Greeley in comments on this letter, particularly Frederick Bancroft in *The Life of William Seward*.

But Greeley's biographer, Parton, in concluding the chapter on this episode, remarks, in order to show Greeley's lack of personal animosity toward Seward:

"Perhaps I may add that, a few days after the election of Mr. Lincoln in November, 1860, I myself heard Mr. Greeley say: 'If my advice should be asked respecting Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, I should recommend the appointment of Seward as Secretary of State. It is the place for him, and he will do honor to the country in it.'"

Oregon, though in majority Democratic, at the outbreak of the Civil War, yet gave its electoral votes to Lincoln. Its leading Senator, James W. Nesmith, a Democrat, was one of Lincoln's staunchest supporters. Oregon was admitted as a State, in 1859, just in time to help elect Lincoln. The votes of its delegates in the convention that named Lincoln for President participated in the nomination. The distinguished men, Greeley and Thayer, whom Oregon called to the convention with its proxies, wielded an influence that was decisive of the result. The writer of this article feels justified in according to his native State an honor which history reveals as hers, and in giving to this article the title: "Oregon's Nomination of Lincoln."

DOCUMENTARY

(Letter)

Doctor John McLoughlin to Sir George Simpson.
March 20, 1844.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

By KATHARINE B. JUDSON.

The following letter, copied from the original letter book in Hudson's Bay House, London, is of great interest as well of importance to students of Oregon history.

Minute annotation has seemed unnecessary.

To the writer it seems self-explanatory. It answers quite fully, in the figures of profit and loss given,—and the writer has similar statements for other years,—the extravagant statements made by Americans regarding the supposedly enormous profits of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon. Without the thrift and careful management which characterized every move, the Company would have made no profits at all in the southern section.

Crate, one of the men mentioned in this letter, is mentioned also in the volumes of the *British and American Joint Commission for the Final Settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Company*. He seems to have been in charge of the sawmills five or six miles above Fort Vancouver, and to have had many of the duties of a millwright.

One important thing to be noted in this letter, however, especially in connection with the very long letter which was published in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915, also found at Hudson's Bay House, are the personal relations between Dr. McLoughlin and Sir George Simpson. Hostility to Americans was never demanded of McLoughlin—he was instructed to keep on good terms with them—and his friendship to Americans had nothing to do with his resignation. McLoughlin, indeed, abhorred ill-will and rough dealings. He had had enough experience with fur-trade rivalry and rough methods, even aside from his very humane nature, to always wish for pleasant methods and good will. And his friendship for the "better class of Americans," as he calls them, was sincere. He also repeatedly wrote the Governor and Committee at London that even accidental bloodshed in rivalry would only bring disrepute to the Company and cause complications with the American government.

As I noted in the brief introduction to the letter in the *American Historical Review*, there were endless differences of business judgment between McLoughlin and Simpson. McLoughlin, for instance, wanted many posts along the coast and only vessels enough to carry supplies to them, and bring back the furs from them, trading with the Sandwich Island at other times. Simpson's policy was to use vessels almost altogether and to have no land posts, if possible to avoid them, or as few as possible and as small as possible. McLoughlin fought the coming of the little steamer *Beaver*, and I doubt if ever he was reconciled to it. It was frequently out of repair, had to have an expert crew who could be used for nothing else, was too small for the Sandwich Island trade and too large, he thought, for a mere coaster. But the *Beaver* was one of Simpson's pet schemes, and even McLoughlin's showing that the vessel was actually a loss, financially, did not quell his interest in that plan.

But the real bitterness between the two men began with the death of young John McLoughlin at Stickeen. This was touched upon by an important letter published in this *Quarterly*, June, 1914 (Volume 25).

Now young McLoughlin and young McLeod got mixed up, in some way, in the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, while they were both either in the Red River country or in eastern Canada. I have not yet been able to get details, and have only one of Simpson's letters which show that they had made themselves so conspicuous that they had fallen under the displeasure of the United States Government. Governor Simpson got both youths out of the scrape and sent McLoughlin to the mouth of the Columbia with his father. It was only five years later that the young man was murdered, having unwisely been sent to one of the most dangerous posts on the coast, with a crew of insolent, insubordinate, undisciplined men, without any second officer, and himself not old enough nor experienced enough, nor with judgment enough, to manage the post without assistance. It was almost a crime to send him there, as I see it—rash and inexperienced as he was—and most unwise and ungenerous in Simpson to send away his second officer and leave the novice there alone, if it was done through dislike. Yet those things did happen, without fatal results, and without personal motives, in the exigencies of the fur trade, and one has only to read letter after letter of McLoughlin, to the Governor and Committee, and to Simpson, to feel that nothing but the utmost skill, determination, and British firmness and justice ever carried the Company through those years without massacre.

In this connection it might be well to note, because the Company has been maligned, that many residents of the Red River country begged that the Company should keep control of that country while there were Indians in it, because of their wonderful control of the natives; that there never was a massacre in the Oregon country, or an Indian war, until the natives knew that the British no longer had control of the country;

and further, that co-operating with the Hudson's Bay Company, the Canadian Government has settled British North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, without a single one of those Indian wars which reddened the soil of America. And yet the Canadian Government had to do with very savage tribes, including head-hunters and cannibals.

Simpson had, it seems to me, a distinct prejudice against young McLoughlin. After the murder, being convinced beforehand through his own prejudices, that young John was to blame, and alone to blame, he did not investigate the murder with anything like the calm justice or from the impersonal point of view that he should have shown. McLoughlin, on the other hand, passionately devoted to his eldest son—perhaps the more so because of his generous qualities, and of the fact that he had been a source of worry to him,—expressed an intense bitterness in his letters to Simpson and to the Governor and Committee. John Todd, in the *Quarterly* article referred to above, says that McLoughlin “has also written a thundering epistle to their honours at home” It *was* thundering. I have read it, and some other thundering letters addressed to Simpson personally. A letter from Archie McDonald to Edward Ermatinger, in that correspondence which throws so many side lights on the Oregon country at this period, is perhaps the best *résumé* that can be made of the Stickeen tragedy—that one never knew what the young half-breed sons of the traders would amount to, that so often they seemed to express the worst of both sides, and that they were always a great source of anxiety to their fathers.

Vancouver, 20th March, 1844.

To

Sir George Simpson, Gov. in Chief
Rupert's Land

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours 21st June, 1843, with the accompanying documents, as p. packet list.

2. I am surprised to learn from you that the men who have left the Department complain of ill usage as I am certain none have cause but the case or cases ought to be stated, the individuals complaining and the person against whom they complain named as the charge is made in such general terms it is impossible to rebut it except in the case of Heroux which is stated by Chief Factor Keith in explanation of which I have to observe that Heroux was employed in hauling logs to the saw mill. Crate who was in charge of the mill gave Heroux some orders which he refused to obey and a quarrel arose. I do not know who struck first but Mr. Forrest happened to come at the time, found Crate on the ground and Heroux beating away on him most brutally and some of the men standing around looking on. Mr. Forrest pulled Heroux off Crate and indignant at seeing a stout man like Heroux beating away as he was on a small man like Crate told Heroux to stand up as he had to do with him, but Heroux seeing he had his match would not answer the call and Mr. Forrest gave him two or three cuffs when Heroux took to his heels and came and complained to me and told me so pitifull a story that he affected my feelings, and supposing he had been ill used I wrote to Mr. Forrest for an explanation when Mr. Forrest came down with Crate who gave a true version of the affair. Heroux had not mentioned to me that he had disobeyed Crate's orders, and in such a case, allowing that Crate had struck him he was perfectly justified by the circumstances and it would be no excuse for a stout man like Heroux to be beating away on a little man as Crate, though it is not surprising that a man capable of acting as he did should misrepresent the affair. But how am I to account for people well acquainted with the character of these men and who know that their statements in such cases can never be depended on, bringing forward such charges in general terms. If Mr. Keith wanted to bring forward this charge, why did he not enquire into the cause of Heroux's complaining and against whom it was made, but the best evidence that there was no just cause of complaint is that the

recruits you sent us this year are some of our old hands who have returned to this Department in preference to any other. However, you may depend that as heretofore our best endeavour will be exerted to make the men as comfortable as the nature of the business will admit, and I am really astonished that you should have considered it necessary to write me on that point, as you have been several times here, since I am in charge of the Department and no man ever complained to you of ill usage. I beg leave to return my thanks through you to Mr. Keith for bringing Heroux's case forward as it has afforded me an opportunity of proving its falsity; at the same time let us learn from this case to be cautious before we give credit to what these men say and recollect that the old proverb there are two sides to a story is true.

3. As you say the *Boutes* must be trained in the country, but the truth is the men are so miserably small and weak for years past we cannot find men of sufficient physical strength among the recruits to make efficient *Boutes* to replace our old hands. At present we have some *Boutes* who ten years ago were considered old and so little attention is paid to the selection of the men that in 1839 a man was sent here from Montreal who had only one finger and a thumb remaining on his hand; in 1840 we received another who has one of his arms withered, and [an?] impotent arm, and among the recruits who have come here from 1839 to 1843 both inclusive, there is only one man who can serve for a *Boute*. The men are so weak that the least fatigue lays them up in hospital and the able men have to do their duty.

4. In your fourth para. [paragraph] you write there could have been no impropriety in your forwarding the statements referred to in your third paragraph to the president and council for their information and they did perfectly right in giving their opinion and making such observations as they considered proper. Every person interested in the business has an undoubted right to express an opinion be that opinion right or wrong, and no person has a right to find fault with a person

for his opinion, but no action of mine can justify any one imputing to me the unfairness of withholding information on business from my colleagues to entrap them into any measure, as if I had known you had written them on the subject, I would not have troubled them about it but my letters [sic] speaks for itself.

5. In regard to the remarks in your fifth paragraph relating to the murder of my son in which you write, "I trust I may not be called upon to resort [revert?] to this to both of us most painful subject," permit me to say that I am astonished how you could think that such a remark would prevent a parent demanding of you information as to the measure you took when you delivered the murderer of his son to the Russians, if that man is to be prosecuted, and you may depend every endeavour of mine will be exerted to have that affair thoroughly examined and which I would have attempted to have done before this but that I considered it the duty of the Company to examine this affair, the murder of one of their officers by their servants under his command in one of their establishments, but since it has not been done I forward with this a copy of all the depositions to my agent to be by him placed before council, and to follow such measures as my means may justify as I have fully explained in my despatch No. 1 and will observe, as I informed you in paragraph of mine of March 1843 C. F. Douglas proceeded to the coast and examined the men who were at Stikine when my son was murdered and I send you a copy of the depositions he took and an extract of the letter he wrote the Governor and Committee by which you see Heroux and P. Kanaguasse ten months before the murder, were known to have been concerting measures to murder my deceased son and Mr. R. Finlayson and in the night of the murder Francois Pressie proposed also to murder my late son, and Mr. Douglas according to my orders delivered P. Kanaguassie and Pressie to the Russian authorities and if this affair is not thoroughly examined, so that justice be done and the men see that they cannot murder their officers with

impunity, it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell that this murder will be followed by others unless the officers allow the men to do as they please, as on the men's own showing, it was murder on their part, and if he was drunk as they say their crime was only the greater. As to my late son being a drunkard as these men represent, the vigilant watch they admit he kept and the state of his accounts disprove this and the cause of their hostility to him was that he kept them to their duty and would not allow them do as they pleased. If the character of an officer is to be taken from what such men as were at Stikine will say, let me in truth add, though it pains me to say so, will swear to—without examining into what they say, the situation of the officers is extremely deplorable.

6. I do not know nor can I imagine whence you derived the information that our rivals in trade have been so successful that they will repeat their visit. It is true Capt. Chapman caught six hundred barrels salmon, but after he did it was so bad he could not sell it and has given up the business. Captain Couch's owner, Mr. Cushing of Salem, Massachusetts, sent a small vessel last summer and another is expected this season but he is carrying on a losing business. He is, as they say, a wealthy man and perhaps keeps on in expectation of our being obliged to withdraw. and that the business will fall to him. Another American, Mr. Pettygrove, equipt by the house of Benson and Co., New York, who were to send here a vessel last fall with an assorted cargo but she did not come.

7. When you speak of the abundant resources at our disposal, if you mean goods you are correct; but if you mean men and officers, we are too few of the latter and as to our men, I have already stated their capacity.

8. In your 9th para. you write, "I am sorry to observe the Southern or Bonaventura party, have made very poor hunts, arising as much from the impoverished state of the country as from their late arrival at their hunting grounds which by good management might have been avoided." As to your writing the expedition ought to have been despatched

sufficiently early to benefit by the whole hunting season, I am surprised to see that you write so as the appointment of an officer to head the party was made by council and consequently the expedition had to wait until Mr. Ermatinger had closed the business of the Snake Country and arrived here, and in fact we had no other officer to place at its head and the Snake country remained without any manager till Mr. Grant came from York and you will perhaps recollect that Mr. Ermatinger objected to proceed in charge of the expedition and that you spoke to him about it; but to revert to the party it was equipped in the autumn of 1842 and placed under the command of Mr. Laframboise and cleared £477, but the conduct of the men was so bad that under no consideration would Mr. Laframboise return. He had only promised to go for a trip. I am, said Mr. Laframboise, through the mercy of God come back safe because I gave way to my men; if I had assumed the tone of a master I would have been murdered by them. I will not venture again.

9. As to Mr. Grant's good returns they amounted to £3916.18.6 for outfit 1842, and the gain to £2405.12.8; and for 1841 the returns amounted to £3706.6.3, the profit to only £1389.17.1, in consequence of the heavy expense of the opposition. [American rivalry.]

10. In your fifteenth para. you write in your letter to the Governor and Committee that by opening a store at St. Francisco, having a vessel of 150 tons on the coast, selling at first to retail dealers only and being contented with small profits a good business might be done, on this subject I shall only repeat my conviction that the sooner the unfortunate business which was badly planned, prematurely and irregularly prosecuted, be wound up, the better for the interests of the Honourable Company. I am certain people reading this would suppose that I am the originator of this business. I beg distinctly to state that when it was first suggested to me in 1835 till you proposed it to me in London in 1839, though I always had a good opinion of the business, I opposed it merely because I

felt we would not be allowed the necessary latitude to carry on the business in the manner it ought to be conducted, but in 1839 when you mentioned to me that we ought to enter in that business, I agreed and made out a requisition by your direction, and in compliance with my instructions sent the outfit in charge of Mr. Rae whom you appointed to it in 1841. It is true I ordered a house to be purchased at St. Francisco because we could not get one to rent, and it would have cost much more to build a house than what we paid for the one we bought and you will see by the accounts current of the outfit, it has cleared £1848.5.7 after paying [for] the house and the duties on the inventory for both which it takes no credit, and deducting 40 per cent from the outstanding debts which is much better than I expected considering the situation Mr. Rae was placed in and proves that the business is much better than you supposed.

11. By your 17 Paragraph you say you forward ten men as recruits for the Department, and in your 18th para. you write, "We are of opinion that there are as many in the Department as you can employ" to which I will revert bye and bye; and that you "see by the books that no fewer than [sic] ten officers and 149 men were stationed last winter at Vancouver." True, as you state, there were ten officers and 149 men on the books winter 1842/43 and our winter establishment always will appear large from this circumstance: that in the winter we have all the recruits from the other side and every year you will find in the books men who have left for Oahoo and other places, and when the busy time comes we seldom have two-thirds and sometimes not one half of the men who appear in the winter in our books, and this at the sickly season when sometimes half of the people are laid up in the hospital by the fever, so that it [is] only with the utmost difficulty we get through our work. Last summer, our first week in harvest we had one hundred and seven men, of these seven men were in the hospital; and the last week we had forty-seven in hospital, and last year was the healthiest summer we have had since

1829. I have known sixty-two men at one time off work from fever, principally in the harvest. At present we have 149 men, the same as last year. The wages of the officers and men at Fort Vancouver attached to the depot and general charges amount to £3500

Our farm yields

3800 Bushels of wheat, at 4/6 per bushel	855.0.0
90 tierces pork, at 100/ per tierce.....	450.0.0
100 tierces beef	400.0.0
100 hides	40.0.0
30 cwt. butter	54.0.0
180 cwt. pease	117.0.0

£1916.0.0

which is transferred to the depot, and we have still in the farm store,

1000 bushels pease
1200 bushels barley
2000 bushels oats

We sent to Woahoo

A. 60 masts, valued here \$30.00 a piece	450.00
B. 260 M Lumber, which at 75/ per M	975.0.0

£3341.0.0 £3500.0.0

A. These spars will sell at Woahoo from £25 to £50 each, and some £75.

B. Our lumber which we only value in invoice *75/ per thousand feet we never sell for less than *200/ per M. From this you see that these 107 men have done work at this place which at the low invoice valuation has almost paid the wages of all our present establishment and we have on hand,

1000 bushels pease

*75 and 200 shillings.

1200 bushels barley
2000 bushels oats

Besides unloading two vessels from London,
loading 2 for Sitka
unloading 1 from California
loading 1 for London

Do. 2 for Woahoo

Do. the Cadboro and assisting to take the outfits to the interior to the Snake country, and bringing down the returns and in fact, if the season had not been healthier than usual, we would not have got through with our work.

12. You say there were no fewer than ten officers, say,

J. McLoughlin
James Douglas
D. Harvey
A. L. Lewis
D. McTavish
G. Roberts
C. Dodd
John O'Brien
William Tod
D. McLoughlin

When you wrote this paragraph, you must have overlooked the passage in my letter which states that C. F. Douglas would be employed for the summer in removing* the people from Fort McLoughlin and Tacko [Taku] and in erecting the establishment on the south end of Vancouver's Island; Mr. Roberts had left fall 1842; Mr. Dodd had been sent here by Mr. Manson without any instruction from me and I sent him back by first opportunity to Stikine; I had to send Mr. Tod to the interior on account of his health, and Mr. O'Brien at the time you wrote was with you so that we remained during the busy season

J. McLoughlin
D. McTavish, store and office
D. McLoughlin, shop

*Governor Simpson had ordered these posts abandoned.

A. L. Lewis, farm and men
D. Harvey, saw and grist mill,

from March till June when Mr. Douglas returned and brought Mr. Low[e] from the coast and it is certain we are too few officers for the business, and that if we had had one more officer the vessel for London would have been despatch[ed] one month earlier and ten good men would have enabled us to place at least five hundred pounds more to the credit of the District and if the season had not been fine we would not have been able to get through our work.

14. We would require here in the summer, to carry on the business on a proper scale 120 men at the lowest calculation; in the sickly season we would require more.

15. We require

2 book keepers, one to go out annually with the accounts

1 clerk for the store

1 do. retail shop

1 do. farm and men

1 do. grist and saw mill

2 do. to write in the office

1 do. casualties.

16. According to your instructions we will supply the Russians with only 30 cwt. butter.

17. I have not been able to begin to build the lighter [for the steamer *Beaver*] and I am happy to see that I am directed not to build it, as you say the coal room of the steamer might be used as a store room if required, and the cabin also by erecting a poop cabin on deck, and on emergency the Cadboro might serve as a lighter; indeed she is doing so now; as I was afraid to send her on the open coast in the winter, I sent her with a cargo of Russian goods to be towed by the inner channel by the steamer.

18. The mill from Abernethy together with the wages of the millwright are transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company.

19. In 28 para. you write, "I have made a few alterations in the indent sent us, striking out the felted cloth which has been universally condemned and thermometers that appeared to me quite unnecessary, requesting that plug be substituted for carrot tobacco as according to some recent alterations in the revenue laws, the latter cannot be shipped unless to great disadvantage, and reducing the quantity of strichynine from 6 oz. valued £27.12.0 to one oz. as you say the former strichynine was perfectly useless. If the article be useless as represented, much better expose the concern to the loss of one ounce than six until it be ascertained whether the drug be effectual or not." As to the felting cloth, on receiving the account of its bad qualities we had countermanded it before the receipt of your despatch. The thermometers were to enable us to keep the registers we had been directed to keep; the 6 oz. strychnine were for sale except about $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. for ourselves. The remarks on the inferior quality were that a superior article to the last might be sent. The large quantity of medicines is for sale, and I can only state that our requisition is made out with the utmost care and attention. As to changing the carrot for plug, I can only say the quality of the last we got from London is so inferior that no person will buy it when they can purchase any from the Americans.

20. I send with this the tariff of our Indian trade at this place which is the same at Nisqually, Fort George and Fort Langley, but it is impossible to keep to a regular standard at this place or Fort George with all these Americans around us.

21. In the 73d resolve of Council, I am instructed not to give passages in any of our vessels whether inland or maritime to any persons that are not connected with our business, and I beg most strongly to offer the supplementary suggestion that our posts also may receive such persons only for temporary purposes of casual hospitality, and in yours of 29th June you write, "I have recently heard from private sources that the Rev. Mr. Blanchette had received two priests from Canada, by the way of Cape Horn, that the Rev. Mr. Demers had been

conveyed into New Caledonia, and these aided by our people in erecting of their chapels and that the Rev. Mr. Balduc had obtained a passage in our steam boat." These circumstances arising probably from pressure of business have been omitted in your despatches and I mention them merely with the view of saying you cannot be too minute in recording and communicating every passing event of importance. The case however of Mr. Balduc and Mr. Demers,* I beg however to refer you to the 73 Resolution of council and to my letters of 21st Inst. which obviously prohibit any further indulgence of the kind without the express sanction of the Governor and Committee, or the Governor and Council."

If it was intended that we should not be at liberty to grant passages to persons applying and paying for them, there was no use in fixing the rate of passage money, as no person going from this to Woahoo or coming from Waohoo to this place can wait till he gets leave from London to be allowed to embark on board of the Company's vessel, and our being obliged to refuse when people are ready and able to pay for their passage will only serve to excite ill feelings towards us which is contrary to every rule of business and as it is beyond doubt our duty to conciliate, especially when we can do so to our own advantage. As to the Rev. Mr. Demers going to New Caledonia and the short trip Mr. Balduc took with Mr. Douglas from Nisqually to Fort Victoria, and the arrival of the two Roman Catholic priests, I deemed [them] to be so very unimportant that I did not consider them worth mentioning though I must observe I did not think the Company had any objection to the Rev. Mr. Demers going to New Caledonia, but he did not apply to return, but if he does, your instructions will be observed. At the same time I must state it will only excite ill-will towards us, as he can any day he pleases go there perfectly independent of us. As to the Rev. Mr. Balduc when I heard he had embarked with Mr. Douglas I was happy of it as I expected he would have proceeded to the Coast with Mr.

* Evidently something omitted in quotation; and quotation marks are erratic.

Douglas and afforded religious instructions to many of the Company's people who have been for a long time deprived of it, and which for my part I consider it a duty to afford them if possible, and it is certainly to the interests of the Company to do so as it tends to render the servants more honest and faithful. As to the Rev. Mr. Desmet of the order of Jesuits, he has been treated precisely as the other missionaries from the United States. He has had supplies from us on paying for them in the same way as the Methodist Mission in our vicinity and the Presbyterians at Walla Walla and Colville. The Jesuit are at the Flathead and Coeur d'Alène Lake.

23. I informed you in mine of 20th March, 1843, that part of the immigrants who came from the States with Mr. Hastings were preparing to leave this for California. About forty of them left this in May but meeting with Mr. Lease with a party of their countrymen and hearing that they could get no lands in California some returned to this place, but the main body proceeded to Saint Francisco where I understand they have got lands along side of Captain Sutter.

24. This fall a large emigration came from the States, some say a thousand persons, but I believe they are not so many. Eight or ten Jesuit priests and lay brothers came up with them from St. Louis, Missisoure and proceeded to join their brethern in the Flat Head country, but some are coming down here this spring, perhaps to settle in this vicinity. I am informed that Father Desmet is gone to Europe to endeavour to make an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company to get his supplies for his mission.

25. As I already stated Chief Factor Douglas proceeded to the coast, took the people and property from Fort Durham and Ft. McLoughlin which according to your directions are abandoned and began an establishment at the place he selected on the south end of Vancouver Island which according to your instructions has been named Fort Victoria, and placed it under the charge of Chief Trader Ross. It has a fine harbour, quite accessible and by last accounts everything was going on well.

at this place. The fort is three hundred by three hundred and fifty feet, to consist of eight buildings of 60 feet, two behind and three each side, and Mr. Ross is going on with the buildings and this year and this year* will plant a large quantity of potatoes so that by having flour, pease, and a few barrels beef and pork, he will be able to afford refreshments next winter to any vessel that may call there.

26. The Vancouver arrived from St. Francisco this third May and as you see by the account current the outfit to California for 1842 paid the heavy California duties and got only the usual advance 33-1/3 and cleared as already mentioned, [amount left a blank] as per accompanying account.

27. On the same day with the Vancouver, the Columbia, Capt. Humphreys, entered the River but as you are aware, the bulk of her cargo was for the Russians and as the whole cargo was mixed up, we had to unload her entirely and to save time [as] we took the Russian goods out of the Columbia, we put them immediately on board the Vancouver, Capt. Duncan, and sent her with their goods and supplies for the Coast to Sitka and Fort Simpson from whence after delivering her cargo in good condition and received the furs of Fort Simpson and Stikine, she returned on the 22nd August under the command of Capt. Brotchie who, as it was his turn to go home, I had instructed to exchange with Capt. Duncan, the latter taking the command of the steamer and Capt. Brotchie of the Vancouver.

28. The Columbia left this the 6th July with a cargo of wheat for Sitka and returned here on [date left blank]. I find by Governor Eoline that the wheat arrived late; the fact is that I supposed they were more in want of goods than grain and therefore sent the goods first, and though every exertions were made, it was impossible to send these vessels off sooner as from the 23rd May to the 6th July we had to unload and load two vessels besides receiving and expediting the brigade for the interior.

* A characteristic repetition.

29. The brigade arrived from the interior the sixth June and left 24th of the same, but unfortunately in going up, one of the boats was supset and one of the men drowned and another in poling fell out of the boat and was also drowned.

30. On the 6th July, the Diamond, Captain Fowler arrived from London and delivered her cargo in excellent condition and as there was no prospect of our sending a cargo of lumber in time to Woahoo by our own vessels, I chartered the Diamond for four hundred and twenty-five pounds to take a cargo to Woahoo.

31. The Columbia left this the first of December for Woahoo but could not get over the bar till the 3rd February.*

32. In consequence of your only sending ten men, I had to send to Woahoo for fifty Kanakas, part of which is to replace the Kanakas gone in the Columbia, and three going in next ship, and the Kanakas I sent for will not replace all the blanks in our list.

33. On the return of the Columbia, she will proceed to Sitika with the grain and when she comes from there she will, according to the intelligence we may receive and the date of her return and either proceed to California or London with the returns.

34. A few days after the departure of the express last March a momentary excitement broke out among the Nez Perces and Cayuse tribe who inhabit the country about Walla Walla caused by reports spread among them that Dr. White, who as I informed you, gave himself out as an Indian agent for the United States, had said he would take their lands from them, which it is certain he never said and also from another report which came to the Willamette that the Cayuse and Nez Perces had said they intended to attack the settlers, but which was unfounded.

35. Dr. White stopped here as he was passing and on his way to visit the Cayuse and Nez Perces tribe according to appointment and as he might take a fancy (though he had

*It was while waiting three weeks to get over the bar, his visit in 1841, and because of that delay, that Simpson decided definitely on the location of Fort Victoria, Vancouver Island.

publicly said he had nothing to do with us) to address these Indians in our establishment, and in case Mr. A. McKindly* might not know how to act and this might bring us into trouble with Indians, to avoid this and all misunderstanding hereafter on the subject, I addressed Mr. McKindly the following letter and handed it for perusal to Dr. White, after which I sealed and delivered it to Dr. White, with the request he would give it to Mr. McKindly which the Doctor did.

36.

Vancouver, 14th April, 1843.

Mr. A. McKindlay,

Dear Sir

Dr. White is, I understand, on his way to Walla Walla. You will observe that until our Government has given up its claims to the country and recognized the rights of the U. States and we are officially informed of it, we cannot recognize Dr. White as an Indian agent and he can only be known to us as a private individual and as such to be treated with all the Courtesy his conduct deserves but you cannot permit his holding council with Indians in the Fort, and you will remember that the goods sent to you are to be employed in trade with Indians but you may of course sell him any, or give him on credit, such articles as are usually supplied gentlemen on the voyage.

I am

Yours truly

John McLoughlin.

N. B. To avoid misapprehension, you will attend no Indian Council with Dr. White.

37. Dr. White went to visit the Indians and saw the Cayouse and Nez Perces tribe together about twenty-five miles from Walla Walla, at which it is said he principally spoke to them of religion and advised them to become farmers. At the first meeting the two tribes in consequence of natural jealousies were on the point of coming to blows but the assembly broke up quietly.

* McKinlay.

38. The American settlers on the Wallamette had a public meeting last May and wanted the Canadians to unite with them in organizing themselves into a Government, but the Canadians would take no part in their plans of organization and government. The Americans with a few English who came by the way of the States and some foreigners formed themselves into a body, elected three men as an executive board, three others as magistrates, a sheriff, and three constables, and I am happy to say all the people have been quiet and in general very industrious.

39. In May, a party of Americans who came fall 1842 from the States left this under the command of a Mr. Hastings, an American lawyer to proceed to California, and if they did not find that country to suit them they are to go from there to the States. I learned that they safely arrived, that Mr. Hastings is highly pleased with the country and has a grant from the California Government of ten leagues of land.

40. In company with the immigrants there came a Lieut. Fremont of the Topographical Corps of Engineers, U. S. Service. He got some supplies from us and left this on the 13th Nov. He expected to be at Washington in March and to return here this season to finish his survey and it is said a large immigration will accompany him to this country.

41. As to the immigrants come this year [1843] they have placed themselves all on the South Side of the Columbia River, in the Wallamatte, Falaty Plains, about Fort George and Clatsop and give out that they believe the Columbia River will be the boundary and they think it is settled by this time. I know that several of them come strongly prejudiced against us in consequence of false reports raised as you will see, more particularly noticed in my letter, paragraph [number left blank] to the Governor and Committee, arising from a letter published in the papers by Captain Spaulding who was here in 1840 with the large re-inforcement for the Methodist Mission and whom you may remember we saw at Woahoo. However, I believe their sentiments are changed and they are convinced that they

were grossly misinformed. A large party of them are to proceed this spring to California where a large party of their countrymen who came with them separated from them in the Snake country to go thither.

42. The Lama, Captain Nye came in May with a few supplies for the Methodist Mission, but left as soon as she had discharged her freight.

43. The Pallas, Captain Sylvester, consigned to Mr. A. E. Wilson who keeps a store at the Falls for Mr. Cushing of Salem as I already mentioned, arrived here in September. She is of about one hundred tons, and it is said is intended to run between this and Woahoo.

44. On the first July the steamer Beaver left Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island and proceeds to Fort Simpson on her tour to the north as far as Cape Spencer. At Fort Simpson the steamer met the barque Vancouver, according to instructions I had given Captain Duncan.

45. By the Vancouver I received Governor Etoline's letter of the 14th July in which he complains strongly of the state the Valleyfield's cargo was in and of which I am not surprised by the fact that a good deal of our property was injured and when she was laid on shore at Nisqually for survey a seam seven feet in length was found which had not been caulked. At the same time Governor Etoline writes that Urlain Heroux, the murderer of my son attempted to murder his gaoler merely because he prevented his escape.

46. Gov. Etoline complains of the late arrival of the wheat and says it ought by agreement to be at Sitika about the first June; the agreement provides that the furs shall be there about that date but the date in which the wheat is to be there is not mentioned. However I shall as heretofore, do my best to send them their grain about the first June. As to the delay this year, the two vessels the Vancouver and Columbia arrived here together in May and as I conceived they were more in want of goods than provisions, I sent the cargo of the Valley-

field which had been here ten months and as the Diamond arrived when the Columbia was ready for sea, I nevertheless detained the latter to send by her as much of the Diamond's cargo consigned to the Russians as we could by the Columbia, and Gov. Etoline not knowing my reasons for the delay, of course complains and which I merely mention to account for the reason of the delay and which you see could not be prevented on our part and the detention of the grain merely arose from a desire to serve them, and you may depend as hitherto that we will do everything we can to satisfy them and fulfil our contract and I have great pleasure in stating that we have found them accommodating and desirous to meet our views.

47. Gov. Etoline would not undertake to build us a lighter, but proposed to sell us the hull of a schooner for £300 and if we did not wish to purchase it he very obligingly offered to send it to us till our own lighter was built but as we did not require it, I declined with thanks accepting Gov. Etoline's very kind offer.

48. The plan of operation for our shipping this summer is to keep the steamer on the coast till October when she will return here.

49. The Cadboro on her return from Sitika is to proceed to Langley for a cargo of salmon and come here. She will then, according to circumstances be sent to Langley with the outfit, or to St. Francisco.

50. As to the Columbia and Cowlitz, it is impossible to say how they will be employed until I receive instructions, but it is evident they will both have to proceed to the N. W. Coast with the grain for the Russians and the supply for our trade. It is probable the Columbia will proceed to London with the returns.

51. On the 4th inst. a meeting of the settlers was called in the Wallamatte to petition the U. States Congress to extend their jurisdiction over this country. The Canadians were invited to attend and did so, and being the majority (as a great

part of the Americans are hostile to Dr. White who summoned the meeting, would not attend) voted down every measure proposed, saying they were British subjects and could have nothing to do with a petition to the congress of the U. States to extend her jurisdiction over this country and when the boundary was run they would obey the laws of the country they happened to be placed under.

52. On the fourth in the evening the Americans killed an Indian at the Falls of the Wallamette. At the same time the Indian shot an American who died five days after of the wound. It seems the Indians told the Americans this Indian was a bad man, that he had threatened to murder some of the Americans and had murdered an Indian, his two wives and children, it is said. Dr. White offered a reward of one hundred dollars for this Indian dead or alive. It seems this Indian heard of this, when, conscious as he was of being innocent, as is well known, of the charge of murder brought against him, he went to the Falls but armed himself with two pistols and was fired at twice before he fired. Some of the Indian's followers wounded two of the Americans with arrows. One of them is since dead. As this has occurred from false report the Indians themselves spread against this Indian, his relations so far have been quiet but when they collect at the salmon season there may be some stir about it; but every exertion of ours will be made to keep peace in the country which at present seems to me a difficult task but we will do our best, as if such a misfortune occurs it would hardly be possible for us to avoid being drawn into it either by one party or the other, but I trust that by the mercy of God we will be able to keep clear.

53. The following is a comparative statement of the accounts for Outfit 1842 and 1843 for the Districts along the sea.

54.	Outfit 1843		Outfit 1842	
	Gain	Loss	Gain	Loss
Vancouver depot.....		991.18.11		1213. 3.1
Vancouver sale shop...3147.13.11			3838. 2.5	
Vancouver Indian trade.2273.14.6			1186.16.10	
Langley Fort.....1892.10.4			1702.16.10	
Nisqually Fort..... 302.19.8				97.11.8
Simpson Fort.....2566.10.1			1486. 2.4	
McLoughlin Fort..... 748.12.6			1465. 9.3	
Durham Fort.....				
Stikine Fort.....				
Country Snake.....1225. 6.10			2405.12.8	
Party Southern [Cal.].. 425. 4.1			31.18.0	
Islands Sandwich.....				
Russian transaction....1430. 5.0			1460.17.9	
Columbia barque.....		97.16.4		
Cadboro schooner..... 92. 2.10			478. 0.0	
California establishment.1848. 5.7				
Steamer Beaver.....1153.17.5				2813. 8.11
Vancouver barque..... 370.			448. 1.1	
Charges general.....		1787.13.4		2692. 7.6
Victoria Fort.....		488. 1.1		
Cowlitz barque.....		409. 9.4		
	£17481. 5.*	3774.19.	14503.17.2	6816.11.2
[Loss]	3774.19.		6816.11.2	
[Profit]	£13706. 6.		£7687. 6.	

55. There is Louttet, a blacksmith, going out, and he is an excellent man and he wishes to be allowed to come back to the Department. Perhaps he wants to propose to be allowed to go free at the expiration of his engagement. I wish to see him back in preference to a stranger, still I wish the rules of the Service to be kept up, and he to come back on the usual terms, and if at the end of his time he has conducted himself well, has the means to establish himself, and we can dispense with his services, we will allow him to go free, but he nor

*The footing of this column is 3 pence less than as shown, probably due to the blurring of figures in the original.

any other man ought to be allowed to go free on any other conditions.*

56. As to the number of men that you ought to send, it depends on the boundary question. If we are to continue our business in the present scale, we will require forty whites to replace these retiring and deaths and to enable us to allow some of our Sandwich Islanders retire as it does not do to have too many of them.

I am

Your obedient humble servant

John McLoughlin,

C. F.

[Copied from original]

*To go free: that is, to be allowed to terminate his contract and remain in the country, as the Company were under bonds to return all men into the civilized section.

DIARY OF REVEREND JASON LEE—II

Sat. July 26, 1834. For more than a week whenever I have thought of writing in my Journal my mind would at once revolt at the idea but my aversion arose chiefly from ill health.

I went out on a hunting excursion in company with two others and we forded many creeks and got wet frequently rode hard say 35 mi. without food and when returned lay down in the tent in a draft and slept caught sudden cold which settled into my limbs and back and the pain was so intense as to cause the perspiration to flow most freely. The pain was so extreme that it took away most of my strength and I am extremely weak yet. Two days I did not sit up more than an hour. Have been reading some in the Bible and have read Mrs. Judson's [Ann Haseltine Judson] Memoirs and was much interested and I think profited. I trust this light affliction will be beneficial to me and drive me nearer to the gracious throne. O that I were in a situation to do something for God.

A few miserable looking Indians came to camp to-day. They are called Root-Diggers.

The hunters returned laden with meat. Capt. McCay* intends to start on Monday and there is a prospect that we shall go with him.

I have enjoyed a good degree of comfort for two days and pray the Lord to revive his love more and more for I long to be wholly swallowed up in God. Lord Jesus mould me into thy image that I may glorify thee.

Sun. July 27, 1834. Have enjoyed peace and consolation to-day to God be all the praise. Repaired to the grove about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock for public worship which is the first we have had since we started. By request of Mr. McCay a respectable number of our company and nearly all of Capt. McCay's Indians Half Breeds Frenchmen &c very few of whom could understand the exercises but all were extremely attentive.

O, that I could address the Indians in their language. I did not attempt to preach, but gave a short exhortation from I. Cor. 10-21.—“Whether therefore ye eat or drink” &c. I find myself very weak in body and my mind shares measurably the same fate. My voice too was much weaker than I had anticipated hence I said little and hardly know whether it was said to purpose or not. I feel a sort of listlessness—ennui [ennui]—or want of energy that I can hardly account for. Lord deliver me from such apathy and nerve me for the work which thou hast given me to do.

It rained this morning a little which is not common here. It thundered and looked likely for a shower but we had wind and no rain.

Mon. July 28. Last evening two of Mr. McCay's men commenced a horse race and when the[y] [were] under full speed another ran in before them probably with the intention of turning his horse and running with them but by some means he did not succeed and the others ran directly on to him and one of them was thrown and probably the [horse] fell upon him and broke something inside for although he was blooded and cuped [cupped] and everything done for him that could be done yet his senses did not return and he expired at 3 o'clock A. M. He was a Canadian and a Catholic. By request of Mr. McCay I attended at 12 o'clock, read the 90th Psalm prayed and then went to the grave and there read a part of the 15 Chap. of Cor. and the burial servise as found in our discipline but was at a loss to account for our Brethren's abridging that excelent servise in the manner that they have if they approved of having one at all for real[ly] it seems to me they might as well have none as have it in its present form. Nearly all the men from both camps attended the Funeral and appeared very solelm. O that they would remember this that they woul'[d] think on their latter end. The Canadians put a cross upon his breast. He was buried without a coffin having no means of making one. A cross was erected at the Grave.

Tues. 29, 1834. Went about 3 mi. down the river fishing caught one trout only and found myself so feeble that I was very glad when I reached camp. Mr. McCay has informed his Indians what we are and our object in coming to this country and they were very much pleased indeed and more so when told there was a prospect of our locating at Wallah-wallah.

Last evening two Indians came to our tent and brought with them an interpreter who could speak but little of their language and told us they wanted to give us two horses. Being suspicious that it was their intention to pursue the course which the traders say they generally do Viz. to give a horse and then require more than its value in goods that they want I therefore told them that if they gave me horses I had very little to give them in return and they replied that they wanted nothing in return. I then told them that I would take them.

Wednes. July 30, 1834. Capt. Wyeth's Fort is not yet finished but he will be able to leave in a few days. He purposes to make all the speed possible and his baggage being mere nothing it is judged impossible for us to take our cows if we go with him we have therefore determined to go with Capt. McCay who will travel much more slowly.

While our brethren [were] absent catching the horses, two Indians came and presented me with two beautiful white [white] horses. Surely the hand of Providence must be in it for they presented them because we are Missionaries and at a time when two of our horses are nearly worn out. This if I mistake not augurs well for our ultimate success among these generous red men. O Lord God hasten the hour when we shall be able to impart unto them invaluable spiritual things which will ten thousand times repay them for their temporal things.

This Fort is in Lat. $43^{\circ} 14'$, N. but Lon. is not yet ascertained. It is on Lewis' Fork in an unpleasant situation being

surrounded with sand which is sometimes driven before the wind in as great quantity as snow in the east.

Left the Fort at 11 o'clock A. M. traveled S. crossed a beautiful stream of clear water and after a few hours march camped on Portneuf. Find myself weak and afflicted with a severe headache. But what child is there which the father chasteneth not? If therefore we receive not chastisement then are we bastards and not sons. Lord assist me with resignation to bear and profit by all these light afflictions.

July 31. Thurs. Was exercised with so much pain in my head and back that it was with difficulty that I could compose myself to sleep but find myself considerably rested notwithstanding. Made a short march and camped on Lewis' Fork. Grass very good.

Fri. August 1, 1834. How does the golden moments of time on their rapid wings flit almost imperceptably by? They are apportioned to us moment by moment. We look for them they are gone they are not here. Another month has passed away and I have made little progress in my journey westward and I fear not so much as I might have done in my journey upwards. O Lord quicken me more and more. Amen. My head has been much more composed to-day and I have been able to enjoy the scenery which in some places has been rather beautiful and picturesque. The American falls are quite interesting. Mr. McCay judged the whole fall to be 50 ft. but the shoot itself is not more than 20 or 25 ft. Saw an eagle's nest on a rock which rose a few feet above the water in the midst of the river. As soon as we had camped most of the males went in to bathe and the females soon followed but a little distance from them. The grass is very poor.

Sat. Au. 2. Came 9 or 10 mi. and camped on a small stream with many beautiful cascades of a few feet. One of the men caught a beaver. Find I am still very weak but my appetite is good.

Sun. August 3, 1834. Made a march of 3 hours and camped on Raft River. It is a small stream and received its

name from the circumstance that some of the Traders were obliged to make a raft to cross it in high water. Even here I have the word of God to read. What an inestimable privilege. For it is able to make me wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. O, Lord waken my drowsy powers to read and understand and practice all thy righteous will and pleasure. The Indians play foot-ball on Sunday and (tell it not in Christendom) it has been taught them by people calling themselves Christians as a religious exercise. O my God hasten the time when darkness shall flee away and the true light shine in every heart. Soon my Sabbaths on earth will be finished and then if I am faithful here (O glorious prospect) I shall enter upon a Sabbath that will have no end.

This evening I feel my mind calm and serene perhaps the prayers of the Christian Church have been answered in our behalf.

How cheering the thought that thousands of prayers have this day [been] offered for us.

Mon. August 4, 1834. Marched $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours and camped on a small creek.

Grass not very good. Find myself very much fatigued but we have time enough to rest.

Tues. 5. Camped on a beautiful brook about 12 o'clock. We have come $1\frac{1}{2}$ day march out of our direction to try to kill mountain sheep.

The Capt. has sent out some Indians to find where the sheep range and to-morrow we purpose to make a general hunt. We are surrounded with high mountains in almost every direction.

Wednes. August 6. Started out hunting in company with Capt. Stewart and one other. We ascended a very high mountain in search of sheep. We were obliged to climb it in a zigzag direction and I think we ascended 3000 ft. above the level of the prairie on which it is based and still there were others whose summits were above us. We commenced descending on the opposite side and [I am] persuaded we passed

places with our mules that it would be utterly impossible to pass with a horse. The rocks were what they call cut rocks composed of quartz and we passed over some piles of them where the mules were forced to leap from one rock to another and there were so many crevasses and the rocks were so sharp that I would scarcely thought it possible for them to pass without breaking their legs. After descending some distance we passed between the summits of two mountains and descended a little on the other side and came into a grove of spruce fir pine &c. We then went up along the side of the mountain until we discovered that the mountains formed a horse shoe shape and were so high and steep that not even a man could pass them and here we found four as beautiful little ponds of clear cold water as I ever saw. While looking about the base of the mountain for game I heard stone rattling down the side of it and concluded that they started themselves as it appeared impossible for any animal to climb a mountain which appeared almost perpendicular but on more minute observation I discovered sheep nearly to the top but the distance was such that I could but just discern them but by help of a small telescope I saw probably a hundred and they looked very beautiful but we could not get at them.

We now commenced our descent and finding myself too much fatigued to walk much I rode over places the like of which I never before dreamed that mortal man would dare to ride over.

Sometimes after making our way over nearly impassable rocks we would find some that were entirely so and were obliged to return and take another route. Some places the trees and bushes very much retarded our progress. But we have arrived safe to camp weary and without game.

Thurs. August 7. Passed mountains some thousands of feet high and descended one long and steep. Saw some hemlock spruce and fir poplar &c came about 12 mi. Though we have not been able to kill any fresh meat yet Mr. McCay and his Indians have gratuitously supplied us for some days.

The females generally bring it and put it down and return without saying a word as they can speak no language that we understand.

Fri. August 8, 1834. Drank a little milk and water but took no breakfast, having set this apart this day for abstinence and prayer. Went out hunting hoping that I should be able to kill an antelope as we shall probably see no more game this side of Wallahwallah but saw only one and could not get near enough for a shot. Made a long march of more than 20 mi. Found some access to the throne of grace but still my insatiate soul cries out for more of God. Find myself very weary but thank God he gives me time for rest and repose.

Sat. Au. 9. Our way for two days has been mostly over sandy plains covered only with wild sage and pulpy leaved thorn and a few willows and birch on the streams.

Came over 20 mi. and are camped without running water.

A large brook flows here in spring and fall but there is now only here and there a stagnant pool which is warm and has a very disagreeable taste. I can endure but little am much fatigued when we reach camp.

Sun. August 10, 1834. My soul would delight exceedingly to enjoy the privileges of God's House to-day but on the contrary we must soon catch and pack our animals and proceed on our journey. But my heart is cheered my soul is comforted from the consideration that God is here in this "void waste as in the city full" and that he is the fountain of all blessedness and that all the means that can be used are only instruments or mediums through which he conveys his blessings and that he can as easily convey them to us in this barren waste directly from himself as he can to others through the preaching of his word or by any other instrume[n]tality. And blessed be his name he does not forget or overlook us even us though so far isolated from the civilized world in this heathen desert. Thank God I find peace in believing and joy in the Holy Ghost. My ardent soul longs to be sounding

salvation in the ears of these red men. I trust in God that I shall yet see many of them rejoicing in hope of the glory of God. Lord hasten the hour and thou shalt have all the praise. 7 o'clock P. M. Felt rather fatigued when Br. Shepard and I arrived in camp with the cows being half an hour behind the horses.

After resting for some time and reading my bible with pleasure retired beside a beautiful rapid in Lewis' Fork (whose waters we reached to-day after an absence of 9 days) and there soothed by the pleasing sound of the swift rolling water, I poured out my soul to God in prayer and did not find it in vain to call upon Israel's God. Felt a rather more than usual spirit of prayer for the universal triumph of Immanuel's Kingdom and especially for the prosperity of the mission in which we are engaged, and I trust thousands of Christians have been wrestling with God for the same object and this animates me in this literally desert land. Saw two very curious springs on the opposite side of the River. They burst forth from the rocky bank of the river say 50 ft. above it and the impetuous torrent white as the driven snow rushes with a majestic splendour down the nearly naked rocks into the river beneath. They are so perfectly white that at a distance they have the appearance of a snow bank. I judge the distance which the water flows out of the bank or the width of the largest to be at its commencement two rods and the quantity of it discharges at least sixty tons a minute. How astonishing are the works of God; and though we can not comprehend them yet in wisdom has he made them all.

A contemplation of these works is profitable for w[h]ile it tends to show us our own weakness, ignorance and insignificance it gives us more exalted views of the power wisdom and greatness of the Almighty Maker.

Mon. 11. Au. Came twenty miles and camped on the Snake Falls and near a band of the Snake Indians called the Diggers.

They have few horses and no guns and live chiefly on fish and roots hence their name Diggers. They are friendly and

peaceable. They subsist at present on Salmon which have just commenced running. The Salmon go no higher than here. We purchased some dried and some fresh. They are most excellent being quite fat. The dried make good food without cooking at all. For two fish hooks I could get a fish that would weigh 12 or 14 pounds. Many of the males are entirely naked with the exception of a breech clout. The females have some skins about them but boys of 12 years are naked as they were born.

These Indians look healthy and are very fleshy and like all others that I have seen are fond of smoking. Our cows excited a great curiosity among them being the first probably that they ever saw. Some of them like their horses seemed to be afraid of them. The grass was so poor we were obliged to send the horses back 5 or 6 mi. to get food. It was with great difficulty that we could prevent the Indian dogs from devouring our fish.

Tues. August 12, 1834. Started at half past 8 o'clock and passed immediately through the Indian camp and men women and children came out to take a view of us as we passed.

The falls here are very beautiful.

The greatest fall is say 6 feet but the river is rapid for a long distance. Arrived at camp with the cows at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock having traveled say 23 mi. over nearly barren hills and sand plains. The river is very swift all the way and many places rapid. It is truly beautiful and it is the only beautiful object that I have seen to-day for I have seen so many naked rocky and barren sandy mountains that they have lost their power to charm. We are now drawing near the vast Pacific and I rejoice that few weeks with our usual prosperity will find us at Ft. Van Couver. How strikingly the Providence of God has been manifested in furnishing us with food and preserving us from all harm through all the dangers which we have passed. O that our gratitude may keep pace with his mercies, "Bless the Lord o my soul."

The Indian wigwams are constructed of willow bushes with the large end in the ground and fastened together at the top and covered with long grass which very much resembles straw and answers the same purpose. Their form nearly that of a hay stack and some of them 15 ft. in diameter. And to me who have been so long accustomed to a somewhat similar habitation they appear quite comfortable for summer for which they are only designed. One of our horses being old was unable to stand the hardships of the journey and though he has not been saddled since we left the Fort we were obliged to leave him. I regret that the grass was very poor but the Indians will soon find him and how he will fare with them I cannot divine but before another spring his labours will doubtless have terminated. O that like the faithful beast man might answer the end for which he was created.

Wednes. Aug. 13, 1834. While we were at breakfast an Indian stole one of Capt. McCay's horses and got off with it undiscovered. It was discovered that the horse was stolen an hour and a half after and one of the Indians belonging [to] camp took a good running horse and pursued the thief alone. The thief when he discovered that he was pursued left the horse and run and the other brought him back. To steal a horse from a company of 30 in open daylight I think rather a bold push. Marched over 20 mi. and came to camp rather weary but am much stronger than I was a few days since. Capt. McCay who has buried one native companion last night took another to wife. It is customary among the Indians here for the uncles of the girl to barter her with the [man] who makes application if they approve of the match for merchandise. But on this occasion the Capt. who had previously gained the consent of the fair Lady sent for her uncles smoked with them and then sent for the girl and asked her in their presence if she was willing to go with him she assented he then told them that this was the way the whites did that they gained the consent of the lady and then the relatives gave their consent and did not sell their females like their

horses. The uncles did not object and they were man and wife.

Surely these Indians must be very desirous to adapt the customs of the white people when they so readily yield [in] a matter of so much interest for a female sells for a pretty large sum.

Thurs. 14, August. Some very good looking Indians came to camp last night and this morning but they are poor having scarcely a knife among them. Cows very weary walked very slow made a shorter march than usual camped on an island excellent grass. Thus far we have had plenty of food and though it has not been such as we have been accustomed to eat in times past yet it has sometimes been very excellent and always wholesome for me, though some of it has not always agreed so well with others.

Fri. Aug. 15, 1834. We are still upon the Island and do not move camp to-day. The animals will be glad of rest. Some of the Capt's men are gone 6 or 8 mi. to a little river to trade with some Indians.

I have been looking over the letters that I have received since my departure from the land that gave me birth and I find them very encouraging for they assure me that God's people in every direction are offering fervent supplication for our prosperity and the success of our Mission. And this causes me to rejoice when I reflect that the fervent effectual prayer of the righteous availeth much. O that I may so live that I may ensure the blessings which are so earnestly solicited in my behalf. In the evening and morning we discovered that when walking through the grass our shoes became wet through there is no dew in this country and on examination we discovered that it was salt. It is deposited on the low grass in fine powder and tastes as strong and good as manufactured [salt].

Sat. August 16, 1834. Capt. McCay sent word to me to send a bag to him for flour and if he had anything else that we wanted to let him know and we should have it. While

at the fort I dined with him and partook of the productions of his own farm corn pork &c. We had kept a little flour to be used in case of sickness but having used nearly all of it I thought we had better purchase a few pounds but he refused to sell us any though he sold to others but said he would send us some if we would accept it as a present accordingly he sent us say 15 or 20 lbs. which would cost there as many dollars.

Soon after sending the above mentioned message he came to our tent and informed me that he should leave us to-day and remain in this part of the country trading with the Indians and trapping beaver till March and pressed me to mention anything that we needed for our journey down and we accepted of some flour and a little sugar. How strikingly the hand of Providence is manifested in our behalf in sending us the productions of the land to which we are journeying to sustain us on our way while we were yet at so great a distance from it and also in inclining the heart of an entire stranger in this savage land to supply our wants without money and without price.

Mon. Aug. 18. Started the cows Sabbath morning about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock A. M. and came to a halt $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9 evening, having been on the march nearly 14 hours. The horses reached camp before sun set. After making a long cut off they reached the river and turned a little up it to find grass so that we did not see them and we went two mi. below and left the cows and then went up and found camp. Distance probably between 35 and 40 mi. This is indeed rather more than a Jewish Sabbath day's journey but there seemed no alternative for us but to "go ahead." But I trust the time is not now distant when we like other Christians shall have the pleasure of devoting the holy sabbath to religious exercises. Lord grant that it may soon arrive.

Made a short march to-day and camped in good grass. Soon after my arrival went to Capt. Stewart's lodge and had been talking some 15 or 20 minutes when Mr. Walker

came and informed me that Mr. Shepard was in a fit. He was quite black on my arrival. We applied camphor to his head and nose and rubbed his arms and legs and he soon began to come out of the fit first uttering sounds and then words and then became sick and vomited. I examined and found large pieces of camphor gum that he had vomited up together with some roots that he had taken. After vomiting he became easier but could not after recall anything [which] transpired for an hour but he is nearly recovered only he is weak. "Be ye also ready for in such an hour as ye think not of the Son of Man cometh."

There is a nearly white gnat rather smaller than the black one which has for severally days rendered our situation anything but comfortable. I find it impossible to keep out of my mouth eyes nose and ears. I am this moment nearly on fire from their bites.

Tues. Aug. 19, 1834. Passed some Indians on an Island and Bro. Shepard went to them and purchased two fresh salmon. March rather short. One year this morning since I took the last view of my native town which contains so many invaluable relatives and friends.

I tore myself from them in spite of all their arguments in spite of all their entreaties. I beheld and what did I see! an imaginary vision flitting before the mind's eye to disturb the sweet and balmy repose of midnight's peaceful hour? No. It was no dream it was reality. I saw—but how can I describe that scene? The like few have seen, I never saw before and shall never see again. I saw, yes I beheld with my own eyes five Brothers and four Sisters their Husbands their Wives, Nephews Nieces Friends and Companions of my youth grouped together to take the parting hand with one whose face they had but the slightest expectation of seeing again till the wheels of time cease to move.

The parting hand was extended it was grasped tear after tear in quick succession dropped from the affected eye and was quickly followed by streams flowing down the sorrowful

cheek the heaving bosom was no longer able to retain the hitherto suppressed sigh but I must stop, the sight of mine eye affected my heart and had I yielded to my feelings I should have lost the fortitude of the man and the Christian in the simplicity of the child. I turned my back upon them and hurried me away and for what? For riches for honour for ease for pleasure for power for fame in fine was it for anything the world calls good and great? O Thou searcher of hearts Thou knowest. One year is elapsed and I have not yet reached the field of my labours. O how I long to erect the standard of my master in these regions which Satan has so long claimed for his own.

Wednes. 20. Made a long march 20 mi. Left Lewis River on the right. Camped on a small stream of clear water.

Thurs. Aug. 21, 1834. Traveled 20 mi. passed some warm springs and one hot one which burst out smoking near the bank of a small stream. I think the temperature is as high as the boiling point.

The stones in and near the spring were covered with good salt some of which we gathered for use as we have had none for some days. Camped on a small stream water rather disagreeable to the taste. Grass good.

Friday, 22. Came 22 mi. camped on a small brook—best of grass.

Most of the Indians have gone on. The monotony of this journey is indeed wearisome to mind and body. For some days we have been almost constantly surrounded with mountains—form of most resembling that of a hay stack—their surface sand. They would appear very beautiful to one who had never before seen the like. But to us who have seen nothing but mountains so long with scarcely a valley intervening there is little to excite interest. Their form is so similar that we almost fancy we have seen them before.

Sat. Aug. 23, 1834. Came unexpectedly upon Lewis River and soon left it and shall see it not again this side of the

Columbia. Overtook the Indians and a small party sent out by Capt. McCay who are on their way to Wallahwallah. Came 15 mi. Camped on a large brook—good water.

Sun. 24. Camped before 11 o'clock A. M. Thinking it best to rest on the Sabbath as we expect to reach W. in six days. The holy and thrice blessed Sabbath which in Christian lands is hailed as the prototype of the saints eternal rest above which brings with it an anticipation a fore[t]as[t]e of the extatic joys of heaven and fills the pious soul with high and holy emotions which causes him to pant more vehemently for more of God and for a preperation for the enjoyment of the now inconceivable raptures of that glorious and eternal city.

"Where congregations ne'er break up and Sabbath never end," this holy Sabbath has been to us pilgrims little els[e] for four months but a day of labour, toil, and fatigue but far be it from me to murmur or complain. All is right. All is as it should be.

Mon. August 25, 1834. Traveled over hills and mountains as usual say 20 mi. Camped on a cold stream or rivulet, grass good. Some part of the way the dust flew in such quantities as nearly to suffocate one and the slow monotony of cow-driving is indeed very wearisome. And the quart of milk which they afford us *now* per day is a small compensation for this labour but we hope to reap much benefit from them hereafter. Read Lord Byron's Sardinappollas [Sardanapalus] but do not think that sort of writing will tend to better the heart or mend the life though it may inform the head. And he who could write such stuff as his "Vision of Judgment"—must be—I think, if not infidel in principle (which is most probable) a total stranger to all vital experimental religion.

Tues. 26. Started 6 o'clock 30 m. with the cows and arrived at camp at 3, distance 25.

The hills over which we came are not nearly so high as those we have been wont to pass of late. They are covered with scattering grass which is now dry and turned white for want of rain.

1834. Friday, August 29.—Made a severe march on Wednesday. Twelve hours with the cows, 36 miles over some mountains difficult for the animals being covered with small stones. Saw some of the Kioos squaws digging cammas. Camped near the Kioos Village. Thursday did not move camp. Walked a mile to the village to look for salmon and cammas, as our provisions were nearly spent, but they had no salmon and were lean with their cammas. I suppose some of the Kioos who had been with us informed the chief that we were there and our object in coming to this country. We were invited the chief's lodge. Dried salmon, choak cherries and water were set before us, of which we partook and conversed as well as we could by signs and the few words of Nez Perce that we had learned, but we were sadly puzzled to understand each other. The chief of the Walla Walla tribe was there and he showed me some old papers with scraps of writing on them and a calendar showing the day of the month with Sunday distinctly marked—written—I presume by some gentleman of the H. B. Company. I then, in red ink, wrote my name and Daniel's, stating what we were, dated it and gave it to him and he seemed pleased with it. He soon made a sign for me to follow him, and he took me out and presented me an elegant horse and one of the Kioos presented Daniel a fine horse and one of the fattest I ever saw. We invited them to come to our lodge and in the afternoon two chiefs and others, more than could get into our tent came, and the Kioos chief and a brave, I think, gave me each a horse. I gave them knives, fish hooks, awls, etc., not of great value, but of considerable importance to them, in return. We smoked with them, sang a hymn, and commended them to God in prayer, and then dispersed, and prepared to go, some of us, and sup with Capt. Bonneville and wandering traders, in company with Capt. Stewart, and were treated in a very friendly manner. Started early this morning in pursuit of the horse gave me by the Wallah Wallah chief, he having broke his halter and gone. Met the chief coming to see us start, and told what I

was after. He immediately returned to his lodge and sent a man for the horse and took me into the lodge and asked me if I would have something to eat. He wished to try my skill in medicine and presented a sick girl, probably afflicted with headache. I gave him some camphor, with directions how to use it. He accompanied me to our camp and the Kioos chief and others came to see us off, Mr. Shepard and I before the rest, and gave us a hearty shake of the hand and called us friends. The fire for a few days has been raging in the woods upon the mountains a few miles distant, and the atmosphere was so filled with smoke that we could see but a short distance, and was painful to the eyes. The two chiefs knowing [that] we should be likely to miss our [route] followed us and rode with us some miles until we reached the point where there was no danger of missing the way and then took their leave. Is this not an interposition of Providence? Who would have supposed that these Indians would have shown such kindness and generosity towards strangers on account of their religion? And yet this is the cause of their taking so much interest more in us than in others. They have prayer on Sunday forenoon, and run horses and dance in the a. m. [p. m.]. In short their religion amounts to nothing more than a sort of Catholic mummary taught them by the traders. May He who teaches us as never man was taught soon teach them the way of life and salvation opened up by the great atonement made on Calvary. We have been nine hours ascending and descending one mountain, the highest and most difficult by far that we have crossed. Found some beautiful springs of water. Camp in the woods almost without grass.

Saturday, August 30.—Started at 6 o'clock and ascended a worse mountain than yesterday. It was with great difficulty that the cows could get up at all, but we at last reached the summit and traveled most of the day on the ridge, but we lost the view of the scenery, the smoke being so dense that we could see but a few yards. Many green pitch pine trees were burned down, and the fire was yet consuming them. The grass is mostly

burnt up. Very little grass remains and that so dry that it is turned white. Mr. Hubbard, one of Capt. Wyeth's men, came to camp having been lost from his company four days.

Sunday, August 31.—Started this a. m. with the intention to reach Walla Walla tonight, as our provision is nearly spent. Left Messrs. Shepard and Edwards with the cows, to be two days to Walla Walla. An Indian told us that we could not reach Walla Walla till after dark; we therefore camped at 10 o'clock in good grazing. The men did not come with the cows as we expected, and Mr. Walker went in search of them, but did not find them. They had taken another road. I know not where it will lead them. We have just eaten the last food we have. We have had plenty of meat and a little flour, in case of sickness, until today. We should doubtless reach Walla Walla tomorrow, where we can get plenty. How thankful we ought to be that Providence has thus smiled upon us and so constantly supplied our wants. O Lord, make us grateful for thy mercies. I rejoice in the privilege of being able to suspend traveling on this holy day, though I have to ride to Walla Walla without my breakfast in consequence. What our reception may be at the fort I know not, but think it will be favorable; but be that as it may, I feel no anxiety with regard to it. Lord God Omnipotent, reigneth. Amen. Bless the Lord! the heathen shall be given to his son for his heritage and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. Lord, hasten the time.

Tuesday, Sept. 2.—Marched over 30 miles in 7 hours yesterday and arrived safe and hungry at Walla Walla (Wal-lula of today). Immediately waited upon the Governor of the fort, Mr. Pambrun, who received me with great civility, gave me food, and sent some to the tent for others. On my return found that the brethren had arrived with the cows. Thus we have all arrived at Wallah Wallah where we were led to suppose that we could procure most kinds of food that would be desirable; but corn and flour, salt, a little fat, and a few fish from the Indians, are all there is in this place. The gov-

ernor kindly invited me to make the fort my home, and proffered me any provisions he had and regretted that he had no better supply. I know not whether to leave our animals here and go by water or go by land. O Lord, do thou direct us. Capt. Wyeth has arrived in good health. Capt. Stewart killed a horse for meat, being the only kind he could get here, as he could not eat fish. We concluded to live on fish.

Wednesday, Sept. 3.—Closed a bargain with Mr. Pambrun in relation to our animals. We are to have two cows, a bull and five horses for the same number at Fort Vancouver, and £2 each for five horses, and £3 for four mules, to be paid in provisions or goods at the lowest price. This looks very little, but it is probably the best we can do with them under existing circumstances. No news of Capt. Wyeth's vessel, and he is fearful she is lost; but I trust a kind Providence will direct her safe to port. The Wallah Wallah tribe is small and far more filthy and indolent than the Kioos. They are constantly about us, watch us when we eat, crowd around our fire—even slept in front of our tent. The old chief, father of the acting chief, is very anxious that we should return to Wallah Wallah, also that I should preach to them now, but the governor regarded it not expedient as the chiefs are absent, and the good that could be effected would be comparatively little as I could tell them nothing that they could understand, but what has been told them before we came.

Thursday, September 4.—This morning packed our baggage (took) it to the boat with the expectation of getting off in good season, but did not embark until after dinner. Took our leave of Mr. Pambrun, who rendered us every possible attention while at the fort. I soon discovered that the water came into the boat so fast that the goods would soon be wet. After passing the riffle, which was in sight of the fort, we

landed, unloaded, and remained until near night gumming the boat, embarked, came a few miles and camped.

Friday, September 5.—Had a fine sleep in some willows, laid upon the dry sand. The morning is rather cool, but very fine, indeed. Our people are preparing breakfast and as soon as we have eaten we shall embark. The Columbia is clear and beautiful and the rock scenery on both sides the few miles we have come is very fine. Bless the Lord all seems to be well with me this morning. The current is strong, and we have got ahead well today. Passed one rapid not very dangerous but we all walked except enough to manage the boat. Indians are scattering all along the banks of this river, and consequently come out in their canoes to see us and sell some fish and cherries. They generally want tobacco in return, but will take powder and balls. They are nearly naked, most of them. Some have horses. They are said to be great thieves.

Saturday, Sept. 6.—Run one rapid. I came near striking a rock in the midst of it, but escaped. Camped at 5 o'clock, not considering it safe to proceed, there being rapids below or rather falls and the smoke being so dense that we can see but few yards. Find myself rather unwell. The Indians here have some fine horses and we frequently see droves of them grazing on the shores. The Indians live almost wholly on fish which they procure with little labour. They cure it for winter by drying.

Monday, 8th Sept., 1834.—Saturday night I was taken with vomiting and a relax which followed all night severely and in the morning was exercised with a good deal of pain which continued with some abatement all day. Passed some rapids and made the portage of the falls about 1 mi. in length. The boat and baggage were carried by the Indians at one load. A hundred or more crowded around us as soon as we arrived and

followed us across the portage, and watched all our motions till we embarked. They are said to be a thievish set. In a small eddy just below where we embarked the salmon were leaping in great abundance. In the course of a few miles we saw scores of seal amusing themselves in the river which were the first I have seen and they were quite amusing. We are camped a few miles below the little Dells and at the head of the Big Dells. Here we have to make a portage of two miles. I find myself better the pain having left me in a great measure. Some Indians run the boat through the rapids and we carried the goods by land. Came a few miles left Capt. Wyeth to await the arrival of his company which came by land, and the wind was high we were obliged to camp.

Tuesday, September 9.—Remained in camp, the wind being too high to move. Ascended a very high mountain, and amused ourselves by rolling great stones down the mountain. Our living is bread and fish.

Wednesday, September 10.—Some Indians came to us and brought some sturgeon, one weighing probably 50 pounds. We embarked late and found the wind still so strong that we could make but little headway, and were forced to debark before night. It will be a long time before we reach Vancouver unless the wind abates. We have heard that Capt. Wyeth's vessel has arrived, hence I feel anxious to know if the goods have come safe.

Thursday, September 11.—The wind prevented our moving today. For exercise and amusement Mr. Shepard and I climbed a hill high and precipitated large stones, some of them several tons weight, from a ledge several hundred feet high. There is no appearance of abatement of the wind and when we shall be able to reach Vancouver is hard to tell.

Friday, September 12.—After breakfast assayed to proceed, notwithstanding there was a strong headwind, but we advanced very slowly by hard rowing some seven or eight miles, when we could proceed no further by the oar, we towed the boat with a line, sometimes on the shore and some of the time in the river. We camped in some willow bushes, here to remain till we see what the morrow will bring forth. Our provision is nearly done except flour, but I have no anxious hours, trusting that he who ruleth the wind will provide for us.

Saturday, September 13.—The wind still continues with unabated force, and probably we shall be unable to move today. But Providence is still watching over us for good. Indians came with plenty of fresh and dried salmon, and thus our temporal wants were supplied. And we know that the fount of spiritual blessing is as near us in this western desert as it is to those who dwell in Christendom, and through the same medium we may have as rich a supply as they. Oh, Lord, give more and more of the bread of life. I had feign expected to reach Vancouver before Sabbath, but the Lord has determined otherwise, and I cheerfully submit to his all-wise dispensations, rejoicing in the knowledge that no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.

Vancouver, Tuesday, September 16.—This is the first opportunity I have found to journalize since Saturday. Contrary to my expectations we were able to proceed, and encamped a short distance from the Cascades. Sabbath morning proceeded to the falls and made the portage of one mile, carrying two loads each, and then returned to let the boat down with a line, but it stuck upon the rocks, and the men being unable to remove it I went to their assistance and with considerable difficulty we succeeded in getting it over. But what rendered it very disagreeable was that the rain was pouring constantly. We tarried long enough to eat a bite, and proceeded. Camped near sunset, drenched in rain, built a good fire, pitched our tent and all slept in wet clothes except myself. Monday started at seven o'clock, called at a saw mill belonging to the H. B. Co.

They are building a new mill and the workmanship does honour to the master. The scenery up the Columbia below the Cascades is the most delightful I ever beheld, but we could get but a partial view of the mountains on account of the mist in which they were enveloped. Arrived at Fort Vancouver at 3 o'clock, found the governor and other gentlemen connected with the fort on shore awaiting our arrival, and conducted us to the fort and gave us food, which was very acceptable, as we had eaten our last for breakfast. We received every attention from these gentlemen. Our baggage was brought and put into a spacious room without consulting us and the room assigned for our use, and we had the pleasure of sleeping again within the walls of a house after a long and fatiguing journey, replete with mercies, deprivations, toil and prosperity. I have been much delighted today in viewing the improvements of the farm, etc. The dinner was as good and served in as good style as in any gentleman's house in the east. Fine muskmelons and water melons and apples were set before us which were, indeed, a luxury, after the dry living we have had for some time. After dinner took a turn in the garden and was astonished to find it in such a high state of cultivation. The orchard is young, but the quantity of fruit is so great that many of the branches would break if they were not prevented by props. Dr. McLoughlin, the governor of the fort, seems pleased that missions have come to the country and freely offers us any assistance that it is in his power to render. It is his decided opinion that we should commence somewhere in this vicinity. O Lord, do thou direct us in the choice of a location. This evening received the joyful intelligence that Capt. Wyeth's brig was in sight. It is a matter of joy because the last we heard it was on a sandbar some 70 miles below, and we feared we should be obliged to go down for our goods. Is not the hand of Providence in all this? Would to God that I could praise him as I ought for his gracious dealings with us. It is now past 11 o'clock and I must commend myself to divine care and retire.

Friday, Sept. 19.—Daniel and myself are now on the bank of the Willamette river, a little distance from Mr. McKay's place. Wednesday expected that the brig would come up to Vancouver and we should receive our goods there, but the want of wind prevented her coming up. Went on board just at night and ascertained that we could not get them until the cargo was taken out. Slept on board and walked to the fort, three miles, in the morning and commenced preparations for a trip up the Willamette. Dr. McLoughlin made all the necessary preparations of men, boat, food, etc., and we were off about 4 o'clock. Camped up on the sand. Started early this morning and came to the mouth of the Willamette and found the brig there. Took breakfast on board. Waited while Capts. Lambert, Wyeth and Thing explore the vicinity in search of a place to suit their business, but they could find none to please them. Left them with the expectation that they will unload some of their goods and ours at or near the place where they now are. Arrived at 1:30 o'clock.

Saturday, September 20.—Yesterday rode over Mr. McKay's place. The soil is sandy, light and poor. The corn killed by frost; potatoes, light crop; wheat and peas, tolerably good. Do not think such land will answer our purpose. This morning examined a piece of ground on the opposite of the creek—good soil, timber in abundance in the vicinity and would make a tolerable farm; but it is but a few feet above high water mark and in the spring is surrounded by water, and I fear subject to frost, and fever and ague. There is plenty of grass for cattle in all directions, and the horses and cattle for the farm look exceedingly well. The superintendent, a Canadian, showed us the utmost attention and kindness. Started 9 hours 30 minutes to proceed up the river. Nearly all the land for some miles is overflowed in high water. Passed over a ridge covered mostly with a large species of fir, white maple, hemlock, ash, black cherry and cedar.

Sunday, September 21.—Daniel, being unwell, I was anxious to reach the settlement and we reached the river and camped. Some of the settlers came over to see us.

Monday, September 22.—Come along the river, or a little distance from it, about 12 miles to Mr. Jarvie's. Called at the houses of the inhabitants, who were very glad to see us. Most of the men are Canadians with native wives. The land seems very good, but the season has been too dry. The crops in this plain have been better than those lower down the river. Here we found Mr. Smith teaching half breeds. He is an American who came from Boston with Capt. Wyeth. At supper we were treated with a fine dish of Canadian soup, excellent pork, and beaver, and bread made of flour without bolting, and as fine muskmelons as I ever tasted. Our tent was pitched in the melon bed and we slept there—found it very convenient in the morning.

Tuesday, September 23.—Started early this morning and rode some three or four miles up the river to examine the land. Found an excellent place for a farm above all the settlers. Returned to the lower farms and went on foot three miles to see a plain where Capt. Wyeth has chosen a farm.

Wednesday, September 24.—Prairie du Sable on the bank of the Willamette. Fog dense—cannot see a man two rods. Good health, plenty of food, etc., but my mind is greatly exercised with regard to the place of location. Could I but know the identical place that the Lord designs for us, be it where it may, even a thousand miles in the interior, it would be a matter of great rejoicing. O, My God, direct us to the right spot where we can best glorify thee and be most useful to these degraded red men. P. M. Did not find the horses till nearly noon. Came about 11 or 12 miles and are on a beautiful prairie, but know not the distance to the river. This plain would, I think, make a fine farm, but it is probably too far from the river. There are 30 Indians, old and young, a few rods from us, and some of the men are as naked as they were born—a filthy, miserable-looking company, and yet they are quite contented. They subsist mostly on cammas. Probably more than [———] in this vicinity have fallen a sacrifice to the fever and ague within four years.

Thursday, September 25.—Started 8 hours and come over bad roads very slow to the fall of the Willamette, and thence to the Clackamas river, forded it and crossed the prairie which we wished to see, but think it will not answer our purpose. Left the prairie and found our way a mile to the Willamette through a swamp thickly timbered and covered with underbrush. Saw some Indians a little above us; came up and camped on the sand near them. My mind is yet much exercised in respect to our location. I know not what to do.

Friday, September 26.—Sent the horses to Mr. McKay's place and hired two Indians to take us to Vancouver in a canoe. Expected to reach there to-night, but the wind and the tide being against us, we were forced to camp.

Saturday, September 27.—Arrived at the fort 9 hours. Found our brethren well. After mature deliberation on the subject of our location and earnest prayer for divine direction, I have nearly concluded to go to the Willamette.

Sunday, September 28.—A. M. Assayed to preach to a mixed congregation—English, French, Scotch, Irish, Indians, Americans, half breeds, Japanese, etc., some of whom did not understand five words of English. Found it extremely difficult to collect my thoughts or find words to express them, but am thankful that I have been permitted to plead the cause of God on this side of the Rocky Mountains where the banners of Christ were never before unfurled. Great God! Grant that it may not be in vain, but may some fruit appear even from this feeble attempt to labour for thee. Evening. Preached again, but with as little liberty as in the morning; but still I find it is good to worship God in the public congregation. My Father in heaven, I give myself to thee. May I ever be thine and wholly thine—always directed by thine unerring counsel, and ever so directed as to be most beneficial in the world and bring most of glory to the Most High; that I may at last be presented without spot and blameless before the throne.

Monday, September 30.—This morning began to make preparations in good earnest for our departure to the Willamette, and after dinner embarked in one of the Company's boats, kindly manned for us by Dr. McLoughlin, who has treated us with the utmost politeness, attention and liberality. The gentlemen of the fort accompanied us to the boat and most heartily wished us great success in our enterprise. Arrived at the lower mouth of the Willamette where Capt. Wyeth's brig is, late in the evening.

Tuesday, Oct. 1.—Received a load of our goods from Capt. Lambert and left the rest in his charge, to be sent to the fort. Breakfasted and dined with Capts. Lambert and Thing. Left late in the day and camped a few miles up the river on the point of a small island, the only place we could find for some miles where we could get the boat ashore. To the Willamette we have concluded to go. O may God go with us, for, unless thy presence go with us, we will not go up, for it will be in vain.

(Concluded in December *Quarterly*)

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE
KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

(Continued from page 176, June Quarterly)

Clatsop Plains, Oregon, March 1, 1849.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

In this I will give you a journal of my tour through the Willamette Valley last June and July.

June 13th, 1848.—Preached at my north station, four miles from my residence, to an attentive assembly and attended S. S. and Bible class. We seemed to enjoy more than a usual degree of the divine Presence. In the evening walked three miles to the landing for these plains, seven miles southwest from Astoria. Here we spent an hour in social prayer with six or eight professors, among whom were two who have recently professed a hope in Christ. Conversed with Mr. L. on the importance of publicly putting on Christ by baptism. He assured me that he is only waiting for the returning health of his wife that she may accompany him.

19th.—Left the Scippanouin¹⁶⁰ landing for the Willamette, in company with a party of fifteen, in a large canoe. The morning was delightfully serene and the Columbia, here eight miles in width, formed one vast mirror reflecting the light, the imagery of towering hills and stately forest trees everywhere skirting and often overhanging its bold and precipitous shores. This day by alternate sailing and rowing or paddling, we made our way up the stream forty-three miles; and, just as the sun was concealing his golden beams behind the accumulation of lofty hills, we sought and found a camp on a rocky shore at the base of a steep mountain side loaded with heavy forests and almost impenetrably bestudded with vines and shrubbery. Here we kindled our fire, took such refreshments as we had provided for the journey, committed ourselves to the care of Him who spreadeth out the heavens as a tent and laid our weary bodies down under the starry canopy to rest for the night, as is our uniform custom in journeying on this mighty river.

22d.—This morning at eight reached Linnton, a small town

¹⁶⁰ Skipanon, on Clatsop Plains.

of six or eight log cabins situated on the west bank of the Willamette six miles above its junction with the Columbia and twelve S. W. from Fort Vancouver.¹⁶¹ Here I left my party for Tualatin Plains, ten miles S. W. My way lay over high hills and through a dense forest. About twelve reached the house of my esteemed friend and brother, David T. Lenox. Here I was received with truly Christian hospitality. Four of his children have publicly put on Christ during the last year. In the afternoon visited the school which I taught in the summer of '46, now taught by a worthy Br. Ford, formerly from N. Y.

23rd.—Met delegates from six churches, and by request preached on the importance of brotherly love. Was called to the chair and, after long but friendly deliberation on the subject of the connection of churches with missionary bodies, an association was organized, consisting of five churches, under the name of the Willamette Baptist Association, leaving each church free to act at pleasure on the missionary question. Oh, how deeply ought Christians to humble themselves in view of the thought that so many of our dead brethren are so slow to awake and put on their strength and come up to the great battlefield of Zion's King! May the love of the gospel soon bring all our churches to a union of sentiment and action on this great practical subject.

24th.—This day has been one of hard labor and, I trust, of some humble, fervent prayer. It does my soul good to see some manifest marks of discipleship in the midst of error. A spirit of kindness has been maintained while there has been very little yielding of principle. On the whole, the best work done this day has been the discussing and acting on the subject of the importance of liberating the ministry from wordly care and encouraging them to work in Christ's harvest field. Br. Vincent Snelling was appointed to travel

¹⁶¹ Linnton was laid out in the winter of 1843-4, and a road cut out from it to Tualatin Plains. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:415. It languishes in competition with Portland.

(P. H. Burnett and Morton M. McCarver, pioneers of 1843, were the town proprietors.—George H. Himes.)

and preach twelve months in the Willamette Valley, and nearly \$100 was subscribed on the spot for that object. This is our commencement of the book of acts. May its records be greatly enlarged each coming year.

25th.—Sabbath. Preached to an unusually large concourse for Oregon from Heb. 12:28, "Wherefore we, receiving a Kingdom which cannot be moved," etc. Theme, Peculiarity and Immutability of Christ's Kingdom. Br. Johnson followed and continued the subject. The fixed attention of the congregation indicated that they were instructed on subjects of infinite moment. May God apply the word with saving effect to some souls!

26th. and 27th.—Prepared the minutes for the press and preached to a small collection in Tualatin Plains.

28th.—Rode ten miles to Mr. Clark's camp ground,¹⁶² where a camp meeting was commencing, and at two P. M. preached on the importance of relying entirely upon the means of divine appointment in laboring for Zion's enlargements; Zion's strength rests alone in Zion's King. Some serious impressions had been made during the meeting of our Association, and it was evident that some few souls were concerned for their future state.

29th.—Rode ten miles and visited Elder Porter's¹⁶³ family and affectionately recommended to the young members the Pearl of Great Price.

30th.—Rode 28 miles from Tualatin Plains to Oregon City Country interspersed with prairie oak and fir openings and occasionally a belt of half a mile of heavy timber; undergrowth, hazel bush, some of which grows 15 feet high and large enough to be used for making brooms¹⁶⁴; hills high on approaching the river.

¹⁶² The site of the present Forest Grove.

¹⁶³ Rev. William Porter (1803-1872) came to Oregon from Ohio in 1847 and settled in Washington County on a farm. He preached mostly for the West Union and Forest Grove churches. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:58.

¹⁶⁴ The author frequently used the hazel to make brooms and coarse brushes for the use of his own family.

July 2d.—Preached for Br. Johnson, and after preaching Br. Johnson baptized a sister in the Willamette, a large concourse of citizens witnessing the scene, which was solemnly interesting. In the afternoon visited and addressed the Union S. school. Br. Johnson's meeting house enclosed except windows, but yet unpainted.

3rd.—Rode 15 miles up the east side of the Willamette to the Molalla River. Visited an anti-missionary Baptist minister¹⁶⁵; found him antinomian in doctrine. Spent the night with Br. Cornelius and wife. The plains on this stream (Molalla) are sufficiently large to afford a good settlement. Here are some eight or ten Baptist members and a church will probably soon be constituted.¹⁶⁶

4th.—Rode 25 miles through a rolling open country, interspersed with prairies. The way lay back of the main French settlement, the Roman stronghold of Oregon.¹⁶⁷ Spent the night with a Br. Hunt and family, with whom I became acquainted fifteen years ago in Indiana. Br. H. is some ten miles from any other Baptist family of kindred spirit on the subject of Christian enterprise and about twelve miles from Salem.¹⁶⁸ How important that Christians should always, especially in new countries, select their place of residence in reference to their usefulness and Christian privileges.

5th.—Rode ten miles to Br. Matlock's, another brother with whom I labored in Indiana, one and a half miles from

¹⁶⁵ Possibly Rev. Isom Cranfill.—George H. Himes.

¹⁶⁶ The date of the organization of the Molalla church, the editors have not been able to find. It was admitted to the Willamette Association in 1851 (*Minutes of the Association of 1851*), but was in existence at least as early as September, 1849, and had been organized after this letter was written, probably in the spring or summer of 1849. Had it been organized by March, 1849, the author would probably have mentioned it in his journal, and it is mentioned in his journal of September, 1849, as having been organized.

¹⁶⁷ This French settlement is usually called French Prairie, because first settled by French Canadians formerly in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:70.

¹⁶⁸ Salem was laid out on lands belonging to the Oregon Institute shortly after the removal of the latter to Salem in 1844. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:222. There had been a settlement there from an earlier date.

Salem.¹⁶⁹ Visited his family and in the afternoon visited the Oregon university or, in other words, the Methodist Institute, now in operation under the superintendence of Rev. Mr. Wilbur.¹⁷⁰ His daughter performs the duty of teacher at present. I learn they are expecting a teacher from the States the coming year. The school at this time occupies the place of a common school, but meets the wants of the village and surrounding country. The buildings are of wood and have been erected at an expense vastly disproportionate to the present demands of the country. Yet, feeble as the school has been, doubtless it has proved a blessing to Oregon and will ultimately reward the denomination for all the needless expenditures. Its site is eligible, on the east bank of the Willamette about forty miles above Oregon City.

6th.—Rode twenty miles up Mill Creek to the north fork of the Santi Am River, visited two families and attended the funeral of a young married lady with whom I traveled on our way from the States. Made a short address and offered up a prayer at the grave.

7th.—Rode sixteen miles, after fording the river, to the middle fork and preached to an interesting collection of people, some of whom rode from three to twenty-five miles to hear preaching.

8th.—Crossed the middle and south forks; the latter stream is nearly as large as the Mohawk River. Rode 15 miles to the church on said stream and preached at 12 (noon) to the church.¹⁷¹ This church is situated in the midst of the richest

¹⁶⁹ This was W. T. Matlock, who was a member of the state legislature in 1851. *History of Pacific Northwest*, compiled by North Pacific History Company, I:326. He later lived near Clackamas Station in Clackamas County.

¹⁷⁰ The Oregon Institute, the forerunner of the present Willamette University, intended at first as a school for the children of Methodist missionaries, was organized early in 1842. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:201-203, 222.

Rev. James H. Wilbur, (1811-1887) came to Oregon in 1847. His daughter was later the wife of the Rev. St. M. Fackler, an Episcopal clergyman.—W. D. Fenton, *Father Wilbur and His Work*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X, 2; p. 17.

¹⁷¹ This was probably the Santiam Baptist Church (at Sodaville, Linn Co.), which had been organized by Rev. H. Johnson that same summer. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:8.

and most delightful portion of Oregon. Perhaps a more picturesque scenery cannot be found in North America. The church is small, but its members are fast prospering and wish to work for good while they work for themselves; and under a faithful ministry we might reasonably hope for happy results. This is about 65 miles above Oregon City in the center of the Willamette Valley and a few miles below the termination of future steam navigation, in the vicinity of water power to almost any extent. I was strongly impressed with the thought that near this place was perhaps the most favorable point in the whole country for the location of an institution of learning for our denomination. By the recent developments of gold in California these convictions are strengthened.

9th.—Brother Snelling and myself both preached and administered the sacrament of the supper. Congregation good for so new a country, but no unusual interest apparent.

10th, 11th and 12th.—Visited; viewed the surrounding country.

13th.—Rode thirty miles to Salem, and spent the night with Br. Matlock. 14th.—Crossed the Willamette and rode about 30 miles over a rolling prairie and open country to the south fork of the Yam Hill; visited two families, but nothing of special interest occurred.

15th.—Rode 14 miles. My way lay along the Yam Hill bottom lands; soil luxuriantly rich and large fields of wheat of enormous growth were now waving their long golden ears to the gentle breezes that glide over the plains. Met the Yam Hill church at the time of their monthly meeting and preached on the occasion at the house of Br. Miller,¹⁷² an ordained minister from Missouri. 16th.—It being Lord's day, Br. Snelling and myself both preached to a large con-

¹⁷² This was Rev. Richard Miller, who came to Oregon in 1847. *Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore.* 1:5, 59.

gregation for the sparseness of the settlement, and at night I rode home with Br. Snelling. How distressing the thought that in all my travels in the Willamette Valley I have found no Baptist Sabbath school above Oregon City. My spirit is deeply afflicted with the thought that the children of Baptist families and others have so few opportunities for religious instruction. One Sabbath each month they may hear a sermon preached; and then there are few books, except the Bible, adapted to instruct the youthful mind in morals and religion, while the temptations to visit and rove the plains in diversion are many and powerful. I long for the faithful S. S. teachers, with their neat little library of books, to direct the youthful mind in the ways of virtue and wisdom.

17th.—Rode 30 miles, crossed the two remaining forks of the Yam Hill River, passed through Chehalum Valley,¹⁷³ visited two Baptist families and spent the night on the south fork of the Tualatin River with an interesting Baptist family.

18th.—Visited Rev. Mr. Clark in Tuality Plains. Near his residence he, with the assistance of a few benevolent friends, sustains a school called the Oregon Orphans' Asylum.¹⁷⁴ This school will probably become in some future day a literary institution for the Congregational denomination. Rode 14 miles, visited two families and arrived at Br. Lenox's.

20th.—Walked 28 miles to Oregon City.¹⁷⁵ Spent the remainder of the week in visiting in the city and vicinity and in preparing to go down the river. 23rd.—Preached twice for Br. Johnson. Congregation moderately good. 24th.—Left Oregon City for Clatsop on board the launch of the unfortunate ship Peacock.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ The Chehalem Valley was settled as early as 1834 or 1835 by Ewing Young, who had accompanied Kelley to Oregon. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* I:92.

¹⁷⁴ This was the forerunner of Pacific University.

¹⁷⁵ Oregon City at this time, according to Dr. Atkinson, had 120 houses.

¹⁷⁶ The U. S. S. "Peacock," of the Wilkes exploring expedition, was lost at the mouth of the Columbia July 18, 1841. Bancroft, *Hist. of N. W. Coast*, II:532.

28th.—Reached home; found my dear wife just recovering from a painful illness occasioned by an abscess in the right breast. It, however, pleased our Heavenly Father to spare her life and that of our little son, now eight weeks old.

Clatsop Plains, March 1st, 1849.

Dear Br. Hill:

I wrote you one letter under date of Sept., 1848, and forwarded on board the brig Henry bound for San Francisco. I have written you three since and forwarded to San Francisco on board the Mary Cadell. She left about the first of Feb. I hope these will reach you by mail; one of them contained my report of 19 weeks up to Feb. 2, 1849. With this journal I shall send you a letter under date of Feb. 8, 1849, on the subject of a literary institution. Accompanying the package which I send you on the Mary Cadell were the following in answer to letters received by boxes of goods last Sept.: Two sheets to members of Deep River Baptist Church, Connecticut, under date Oct. 12, 1848. One to Sarah L. Joslin, East. Jeffry, N. H., Oct. 12, 1848. One to Rev. Joseph Stockbridge, N. Y., Oct. 14, 1848. One to Mrs. Elizabeth N. Jones, Weston, Mass., Oct. 17, 1848. One to the Baptist church in Amenia, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1848. One to Rev. Reuben Winegar, Rensselaerville, Albany County, N. Y., Oct. 21, 1848. One to the Elmira and South Port church, Chenango County, N. Y., Oct. 18, 1848. One to East Greene church, Chenango Co., N. Y., Nov. 12, 1848. One to James Cowan, 119 Ludlow Street, N. Y., Jan. 24, 1849. One to Rev. Ira M. Allen, N. Y., Feb., 1849, and a package to Timothy Taft under various dates, Clinton, Oneida Co., N. Y. I trust they will all reach their places of destination.

I shall leave in a few days for San Francisco, if Providence wills, and shall probably spend three or four months in California. Br. Johnson advises to this course in view of the unsettled state of things at present in Oregon. You will

hear from me again soon, if life is spared. The goods which you forwarded on the bark Undine were lost. You will probably draw to the amount on the insurance office and forward the same articles again.

I will here insert a small bill of articles which were overlooked in making out the bill forwarded you last month. I hope it will reach you before you fill that bill, that you may put them up together:

1 leather travelling trunk, 2 pairs small shoes for child 2 yrs. old, 1 coffee mill, lace for eight or ten ladies' caps, 2 pair of ladies' dark kid gloves, rather over medium size, 1 dress shawl, worsted, 1 Latin dictionary, 1 Virgil with clavis, 1 pair spectacles, for Mrs. Fisher, set in silver, 4 rolls of black quality binding about one inch wide.

N. B.—Should this bill not reach you before you fill the bill last ordered, you will probably forward these articles with other articles which you may forward for the missionaries.

P. S.—I shall report up to the first of April in a few weeks and hope to be able soon to let you know the state of things in California. Br. Johnson writes me that probably nine-tenths of all the men in Oregon will go to the mines in California next summer.¹⁷⁷ I think this a large estimate. Gold is found in small quantities in several places in Oregon, and the prospects are said to be most promising on the Santi Am River. Whether it will be found sufficiently abundant to justify working is yet uncertain.¹⁷⁸ No doubt our government will order a geological and mineralogical survey of California and Oregon Soon.¹⁷⁹ Such a work would greatly aid emigrants in deciding the place of their locations. We need an unusual degree of grace to enable us to

¹⁷⁷ The author was right. Probably about two-thirds of the young and middle-aged men went. F. G. Young, *Financial Hist. of Ore.*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* VII:373.

¹⁷⁸ Gold was already found in small quantities in the gravels on the Rogue River, and along the Willamette. George H. Himes.

¹⁷⁹ This survey was not made, although it was later agitated, especially by a Mr. Evans.—George H. Himes.

be successful in the great work of the gospel ministry in the midst of the unparalleled excitement which reigns through the entire community. Sometimes I almost despond in view of the present and coming scenes. All articles of living are high—food, raiment and labor. Oregon is almost empty of goods. Farming is being neglected to an alarming extent. All improvements in mills and mechanics' work is about to be suspended and the rage is for gold and how men can reach the mines. It will cost probably two or three times as much in dollars and cents to support a family here this year as last. Yet we hope that in a year or two things will become more settled and the facilities for doing good will be much increased. All reports represent the moral condition of California alarmingly deplorable. Gambling, drunkenness and violence reign.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received July 3, 1849.

Sullivan's Creek, a fork of the Terwallomy,
May the 12th, 1849.

Dear Mrs. Fisher:

Colonel Hall and Edward Lenox, being about to return to Oregon, I take my pen to write you a line. My health is very good, through the tender mercies of Almighty God. Yet our work is quite laborious at present and we get but little gold in comparison to those who dug six or eight weeks ago. Mr. Stone and myself are boarding with Mr. Jeffrie at three dollars per day. We expect to move camp in a few days to the bars on the large streams. We may go south to the Terwallomy, or we may go north toward the American Fork. I cannot tell when I shall leave for home. Should providence smile on my health, I think of staying till we can get on the bars and till I can make enough to help the family to some of the comforts of life. I have seen men take out 4, 6, 8 and 12 ounces in a day since I have been here, while others within ten steps would not pay their board and work

hard. I think the climate tolerably good, but washing day after day with feet and hands in the water, and drinking to intoxication and carousing through the night and sleeping like pigs in the dirt, will generate disease in any climate. I do not know whether it will be necessary for me to send you any funds before I return. Should I conclude to stay till July or August, and I have a good, safe conveyance, I will send you \$100 or \$200. If you need anything to make yourself and the children comfortable and can get a credit till I come, do not let the family suffer. We hope to find better diggings as soon as the rivers fall. We have a tolerable variety of provisions in the mines, but it is not like home. We have few religious privileges in the mines, and nothing would induce me to spend three or four months in the midst of profane swearing, drunkenness, gambling and Sabbath breaking but the hope of providing for my dear family, and that, too, while California and Oregon are in a state of confusion. Next year probably these privileges will be measurably past. We shall hardly expect to get any letter from you till I go to San Francisco. I wish you would write me to that place, to the care of Dr. C. L. Ross, and let me know what articles of clothing and groceries the family will need and I will do as well as I can for them. I spend little time in thinking about moving while I am working hard every day but the Sabbath. I hope to see you in August or the fore part of September at the farthest. Possibly in July. I would like to see you all and enjoy the society of my family and neighbors a few days at least; but I hardly dare to think of it now. Give my best respects to Mr. Robinson and wife. I shall never forget their great kindness, and should like to be their future neighbors, if God so directs.

You can have no adequate idea of the vast influx of population from all parts of the world to California. Do not have Lucy Jane teach and work at home so as to make both you and her sick. I hope Timothy will do well and take

good care of the garden, so that I can have a few good vegetables when I get home, and I will make him a little yellow present. Ann Eliza and Sarah Josephine must be good scholars and help Mother do the work and Father will remember them. Kiss Francis Wayland for me. I suppose he is beginning to go alone. May God bless you all and hasten the time when we may meet in peace and enjoy the comforts of life.

Benjamin Woods, together with several other of our Oregon men, was killed by the Indians a few weeks ago on the American fork. But we have no fear from the Indians in this part of the mines.

Yours in haste,

EZRA FISHER.

Terwallomy River, two miles above the mouth of Sullivan's Creek, July 1st, 1849.

Dear Mrs. Fisher:

I wrote you about one week ago by a Mr. Smith of Oregon, who will soon leave the mines homeward bound. But Mr. Bird, being about to leave tomorrow, I deem it a pleasure to spend a few moments in communicating to my dear family. I am usually well, although somewhat poisoned with ivy. Stone is well; also all the Oregon men with us, except Mr. Bird. He is now recovering from an attack of the flux. I should have left with him, if I had two or three hundred dollars more. But the time for digging on the bars of the rivers is near at hand. I have incurred the expense and fatigue of the journey and to all probability this is the last year that the mining business in California will break up the farming and mechanical pursuits in Oregon, and, as we very much need a few hundred dollars to settle ourselves comfortably, educate our children and to aid in promoting all the interests of Zion on the Pacific Coast, I think I shall stay till perhaps the first or middle of next month, if my health will allow me to continue to dig. But should I feel any strong indications of approaching sickness, I should

embrace the first favorable opportunity of leaving the mines and reaching home in safety. I am heartily tired of the mines. I sometimes think they may be truly called the gambler's and drunkard's heaven and the Christian's banishment. How long I should be willing to remain in this imprisonment for the benefit of myself and family I know not. One day I look towards the place of all my domestic attractions and Christian relations and long for a release. I then think I will not be a fool and entrust the education and support of a rising family to the charity of the Christian public, or to the slow and hard earnings of my hands at home, while six, eight, ten and sometimes twenty and even more dollars can be made here per day clear of expense at a season when society is literally broken up in Oregon, and California too. As far as my friends advise here, they recommend me to stay two or three months at least, and then they say they will go with me. I expected to do no great things in mining when I gave you the parting hand. I have not been disappointed. Yet to all human appearances I have done better than I should have done to have remained in Oregon. The weather for the last week has been very warm, the thermometer rising in the shade during the heat of the day to 106 degrees and in the sun to 119 degrees, but yesterday and today it is quite comfortable. We lay by about three hours in the heat of each day. If you can live comfortably till I return, I would rather Lucy Jane would study than teach, yet I would have you consult the good of the neighbors' children as well as that of our own. I hope Timothy will improve some in arithmetic and grammar, if he can, after doing the necessary work for the family. Should you need flour or anything else, I think you can get it on a short credit and I will cheerfully pay it on my return. Keep Ann Eliza and Sarah Josephine at their books part of each day if you can. Kiss little Francis Wayland Howard for me. I want to see you all very much. May God bless us all with life and health and prepare us for a happy and prosperous meeting.

Tell Widow Bond I have sold her gun tolerably well and hope she will be benefited by it on my return. I can hardly expect to be favored with so rich a blessing as a letter from you till I reach San Francisco. I have written you five or six letters since I reached that place. I almost envy you the peas, potatoes, onions, gooseberries, strawberries, etc. I hope you enjoy them all well, as well as the milk and butter and eggs. Tell Timothy to save the oats and peas in Mr. Robinson's barn if he can. Do not forget to remember me affectionately to him and all the family. I should have written Mr. Perry before this, but all my time is occupied, and I have somewhat expected that he would be in the mines before this time. Mining business is generally very dull; perhaps half the miners are doing but little more than paying expenses. Give my respects to all the friends. Write me at San Francisco and let me know what groceries and clothing the family will need the coming winter.

Your affectionate husband and father,
EZRA FISHER.

To Lucy Fisher and all the children.

Mrs. Lucy Fisher,
Clatsop Plains, Oregon.

To be left at Astoria, care of Mrs. Ingles.

San Francisco, Cal., July 18, 1849.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

In a letter of the 29th of February I think I gave you my apology for visiting California and going to the mines. I now wish to say that my stay in the mines was a little more than eight weeks, in which I am not conscious that I have performed any essential service to the cause of Christ, farther than that my influence went to suppress the out-breaking sins of those with whom I associated. During those eight weeks I preached but two Sabbaths, and I suppose these were the only sermons which have ever been

preached in the mines. My present haste forbids my giving you at this time anything more than a brief outline of the state of things morally in the mines. A large majority in the part of the mines where I worked were from the Spanish-American republics and soldiers and sailors, many of whom had either deserted from our country's service or run away from merchant vessels. The various countries of Europe, the Pacific isles and China, as well as several states and territories of our own nation, were represented. Profanity, Sabbath breaking, gambling and drunkenness reign unrestrained. Every trading shop within my knowledge sells intoxicating spirits, and most of them suffer gambling tables. Perhaps there is not a place on the face of the earth where gambling is conducted on so large a scale. It may be said in truth that thousands of dollars are sometimes won at one table in a night. Many of the laborers dig through the day and at night change their gold into coin and gamble it away before they sleep. In short, the mines may, with some degree of propriety, be called the gamblers' and drunkards' heaven. And to crown the scene, the Christians' Sabbath is the great day of trade and bull fighting and drunkenness and licentiousness. Professors of religion sell more ardent spirits and provisions on that than any other day in the week. I went to the mines principally to raise something to give my family the bare comforts of life, hoping, however, that I might in some measure unite bodily labor with duties of the ministerial office. God has mercifully blessed me with about \$1000 worth of gold, and to all probability, if I had stayed three or four months longer and had been blessed with a continuance of my health, I might have raised from \$2000 to \$4000 more. But an abiding conviction of the duty I owe to the cause of Christ in Oregon has induced me to direct my attention to the appropriate field of my labors as soon as I could place my family above immediate want. I have been in this place ten days awaiting a vessel for Oregon. I shall sail tomorrow or next day.

I supplied Br. Wheeler's¹⁸⁰ place in this town last Sab. while he is making a visit (and I hope an important one) to Pueblo, about 40 or 50 miles south of this place. One important object he has in view is to secure, if possible, a site for a literary institution. The location must be favorable if secured.

Wrote you on the 29th of Feb. last, at which time I made my report up to that time and, as I left before the middle of March, I shall not think of being chargeable to your Board till the time I arrive again at my own home. It afforded me great pleasure to meet Br. Wheeler and wife as missionaries at San Francisco, when I reached here last April. He needs at least three or four able, efficient fellow laborers.¹⁸¹ I hope your Board have them already under appointment. For my part, I think my first business after reaching home and spending a week or two in Clatsop will be to visit the Willamette churches and endeavor to do something with the friends of education by way of agreeing upon a site and securing it for an institution of learning for the denomination in Oregon.

I have just received a letter from my dear wife informing me of the arrival of several boxes and a barrel of goods at Oregon City, directed to me; also one box directed to Elder Johnson. I shall attend to that business as soon as possible and acknowledge the receipt of the goods donated by letters to the donors. I answered most or all of the letters of which you speak in your last during last winter and you have probably received the answers before this. Many of our Oregon men are returning from the mines and I fondly hope the great gold excitement will gradually abate in Oregon from this time. Yet it is hard to predict what will be the end of this unparalleled state of things. I understand that Br. Snelling is at the mines. An excellent brother in Oregon has given me the assurance that he will join me in

¹⁸⁰ Rev. O. C. Wheeler arrived in California in February, 1849. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.* VII:727. See also note 148.

¹⁸¹ Two other missionaries for California were appointed by the Baptist Home Mission Society in 1850.—*Bap. Home Missions in N. Am.* 1832-1882, p. 339.

purchasing two claims side by side and donate in common with me the necessary amount of land for the site of an institution and do all in his power to carry the work forward, if I will go into the enterprise and move to the spot. He has just carried home with him more than \$4000 in gold dust and coin. The question with me is whether I may enter into this work without diminishing my usefulness as a faithful minister. We may act too precipitously on this subject. Should we take action on this subject before the immigration from the States reaches Oregon and lands take a great rise, as they have already done in California, I trust your Board will at least acquiesce in the movement and in that event have a suitable man ready for the mouth of the Columbia.

Yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, Nov. 14, 1849.

Received Sept. 13.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. Missionary Society.

Dear Brother:

I shall employ my leisure moments during a few evenings to transcribe my journal of a tour from my former residence, up the Columbia River and through the Willamette Valley in August, September and October last. Aug. 26th.—Preached to an interesting congregation at Clatsop Plains after an absence of five months in California. Found it truly pleasant to meet the few members of the church and address them on the subject of the importance of fortifying the youthful mind against the temptations peculiar to the Coast and solemnly warned the youth of their great danger. 29th.—Left my family for a tour through the Willamette Valley.

Sept. 4th.—This day reached Oregon City, after a journey of almost an entire week of laboriously pulling the oar by day and sleeping on the ground by night, which is no uncommon occurrence to those travelling this route. Found

the Baptist cause in this city somewhat improved and the territorial legislature, in which are two of our Baptist brethren,¹⁸² in session, and, providentially falling in with two other brethren from the country, we held an interesting conference on the subject of the necessity of taking action for the establishment of a literary institution in Oregon and, preparatory to this work, unanimously agreed to call a meeting of friends of education in the denomination to be held in this place on the 21st and 22d days of the present month. This city, situated immediately below the great falls of the Willamette, at the head of which two saw-mills, with two saws each, and two flouring mills,¹⁸³ are kept constantly employed, begins to assume a business like appearance. The town contains ten or twelve drygoods stores, a variety of mechanic shops, five places of public worship—Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, Seceder¹⁸⁴ and Roman Catholic—and a population of about six hundred souls. At present this is the most important place in the Territory and it will always form the great connecting link between the Willamette Valley and the Pacific Ocean. Here I spent four days in visiting families and the members of the legislature.

8th.—Travelled 16 miles to the small church on the Molalla over a rolling country interspersed with forests of fir and open lands generally set thick with ferns and scattering grass. Soil generally good, but settlements few.

9th.—Preached to an interesting congregation on the Molalla prairie. This church, numbering about eight members, has had preaching but a few Sabbaths since its constitution. Manifest a laudable desire for a stated ministry and are willing to contribute liberally, in proportion to their numbers, for its support.

¹⁸² These two Baptist members of the legislature were probably R. C. Kinney and W. T. Matlock, members of the House. Rev. H. Johnson was chaplain of the House. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:72; I:633; II:143. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* In the first reference in Bancroft the initials of Matlock seem to be wrongly given as W. S. The manuscript records of the Oregon City church show W. T. Matlock to have been a member there.

¹⁸³ The two flour mills were owned, respectively, by Dr. John McLoughlin and the Oregon Milling Company. The sawmills were apparently also owned by them and connected with the flour mills. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:2-5.

¹⁸⁴ The Seceders were the New School Presbyterians.

10th.—Travelled up the Willamette Valley about 25 miles, crossing four of the branches of Pudding River, all considerable streams. The face of the country is generally about as level as the gently rolling prairies of the Mississippi Valley, except for a few points of hill in passing out of the Molalla prairie. Soil variable; generally good, yet occasionally inclining to be wet and clayey. Settlements sparse in the morning, but in the afternoon more compact. Spent the night with a brother formerly from Iowa. He is settled on the southwest border of Howell's Prairie, 12 miles N. E. from Salem and, far removed from church privileges, thirsting for the golden waters. It is to be lamented that Christ is too far thrust aside. Oh! "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

11th.—Rode ten miles to Salem, a small town on the east bank of the Willamette, containing some twenty families. Here I visited two Baptist families who seem desirous of seeing the cause promoted in their place and have secured two town lots for church purposes, should they be needed for that object.¹⁸⁵ This is the point where the Methodists have located their literary institution. The school at this time numbers about 70 children of both sexes. This place has a commanding central position in the Willamette Valley, and will probably become a place of some importance in future years. At present the health of the place is questionable. We hope the day is near when an efficient Baptist church will be gathered in this place. In the evening rode ten miles up the valley of Mill Creek through a picturesque and fertile part of the country; spent the night with a Baptist family who have been halting on the subject of mission measures, but are now desirous of having a church constituted in their settlement, which may be done in a few months, if we can find any preacher who can visit them

¹⁸⁵ A Baptist church was organized in Salem in November, 1850, but seems not to have survived. It was revived in 1859. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:17, 141. See also the letter of Aug. 23, 1853.

even monthly.¹⁸⁶ There are some eight or ten Baptist members in the settlement.

12th.—Traveled 23 miles this day over some of the most delightful part of Oregon; my way lay along the borders of the timber skirting the Willamette, crossing successively the Santiam and Callipooia rivers. In passing the Santiam the foot of the mountains recedes from the river and the prairies on the east open out to ten or twelve miles in width and forty or fifty miles in length, except as the streams are sometimes skirted with rich groves of fir and oak. The valleys of these streams sometimes penetrate far into the bosom of the mountains, affording some of the richest and best watered lands in the world. Farther east the mountains rise, pile above pile, till at last may be seen some six or seven lofty conical peaks, raising their summits far into the region of perpetual snow. At one view the eye can survey the luxuriant plains with their meandering streams, the ever-varied mountain side clad with dense forests of evergreen firs and the still more lofty snow-capped mountains, around whose sides the clouds sport in wild confusion. Perhaps no part of the world can exhibit, at one glance of the eye, so admirable a combination of the beautiful, the grand and the sublime.

13th.—Spent the day in examining the country in reference to the location of an institution of learning. I never travel through this portion of the valley without being forcibly impressed with the thought of the almost incomparable beauty and grandeur which must strike the eye and cannot fail to inspire the heart of every beholder, when civilization shall have taxed all the resources of these plains and mountains. How important then that the character of the crowds that must soon people this valley should be formed by the precepts of our Holy Law-giver!

¹⁸⁶ This was probably the nucleus of the Shiloh (Turner) Baptist Church, organized August 31, 1850. *Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore.* I:9.

14th.—Visited a small church on the south fork of the Santiam.¹⁸⁷ Find the few brethren ready to do something liberal for the preached Word and in anxious expectation to welcome Br. Cheadle, our colporter missionary, who has already arrived safe in the valley.¹⁸⁸

15th.—Travelled 25 miles to Mill Creek to meet a Sabbath appointment which I left as I passed up the valley.

16th.—Preached to an interesting congregation and enjoyed a good degree of consolation while they listened attentively to the Word.

17th.—Having returned as far as Molalla, I preached at 3 P. M. to a small congregation of people, and on the 19th reached Oregon City.

Sept. the 21st.—The friends of education convened, and after the preaching of a short sermon the convention was organized by calling Br. Hezekiah Johnson to the chair and electing myself clerk. But a few persons were present; but all seemed impressed with the conviction that the time had arrived when God in His providence called on us as a denomination to take prompt measures to establish a permanent school under the direction and fostering care of the Baptist churches in Oregon.

22d.—Convention met; I again preached, after which the convention originated the Oregon Baptist Education Society and adjourned the meeting to the Church in YamHill County on the 27th.

23d.—Spent the Sabbath with the church in the city and twice addressed the people. Congregation good. Spent the remainder of the week in visiting the church in Tualatin Plains and preached twice on the Lord's day. This church have in their bounds an ordained minister of excellent character, but unable to devote much of his time to the minis-

¹⁸⁷ This was probably the Santiam Baptist Church, at Sodaville, Linn County. It was organized in 1848 and became extinct about 1857. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:8.

¹⁸⁸ Rev. Richmond Cheadle, 1801-1875, was born in Ohio and came to Oregon from Iowa in 1849. He was at this time colporter for the American Baptist Publication Society. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:70.

try.¹⁸⁹ The church wants and needs a man of more ability who can devote his time to the great work of preaching the gospel. A faithful minister might, the first year, expect from this church his family provisions, except groceries, and perhaps more. Your Board would do well to appoint a missionary for that church and vicinity. This church is situated in the midst of an interesting farming country and within from two to eight hours' ride of all the small towns rising up on the Willamette from the Falls (Oregon City) to its lower mouth, including Vancouver on the Columbia River. This church is the oldest and, in truth, at present the most promising church in the territory, having a number of interesting young men.

25th.—Rode to Yamhill Church to prepare for the meeting; visited several families. 26th.—Visited three families, among whom I met with a man apparently near the eternal world, yet he seemed unwilling to have his mind led to the subject of his spiritual welfare. I gave him a few words of advice and left him to his own reflections. Oh, how obvious it is that man naturally has no love for God! . . .

27th.—Met the friends of education, one member from each church except the Molalla church being present. After a long and friendly deliberation, it was agreed to locate the institution on the east bank of the Willamette River, about eight miles above the mouth of the Callipooia River, and about seventy above Oregon City. The Education Society appointed a Board of Trustees for the institution and the Board appointed me to take charge of the school and requested me to remove as soon as practicable to the place and open a school. Measures were also taken to raise \$2000 for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings and to meet the other necessary expenses. 28th.—Returned to Oregon City through an interesting, picturesque country of prairie and timber forty miles; visited one family on the way and reached the house of Br. Johnson late at night almost over-

¹⁸⁹ This was probably Rev. William Porter. See note 163.

come with fatigue of body and anxiety of mind. We have assumed vast responsibilities, yet our strength is weakness and I fear but a very few realize the amount of responsibilities we have assumed; and then we must take one man in part from the appropriate duties of the ministry till we can obtain relief from the States. Yet we cannot do less, if we do anything. The public will have no confidence in our meeting and passing resolutions while we do not act. Schools are greatly needed; our hope of successful operation in Oregon is in the youth. Other denominations are in advance of us, and the Romans are already at work. Well, by the grace of God, without which we are nothing, we must try. Present emergencies alone reconcile me to the task. I shall probably be called to preach almost every Sabbath and have thrown under my immediate instruction a portion of the most promising youth in the Territory. I confidently hope relief will be speedily sent from the States in the person of a well qualified professional teacher to fill the place.

29th.—Attended the monthly meeting of the church at Oregon City, preached on the occasion, and on the 30th preached again. The subject, The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Congregation attentive. In the evening addressed Br. Johnson's Sabbath school.

Oct. 15th.—Having succeeded in procuring a passage down the river, I went on board a whale boat, the best method of conveyance we have as yet on our waters, and commenced my journey homeward. 19th.—After four days of hard rowing and three nights' lodging on the ground, I reached home and found my family in usual health and enjoying the smiles of a gracious providence. The scenery along the Columbia from the mouth of the Willamette downward is highly romantic. For the first sixty miles the bottom lands spread out from one to eight or ten miles in width, interspersed with prairies covered with the most luxuriant grasses and weeds, but subject to occasional inundations in June and July. The timber of these bottom lands

is willow, balm of Gilead, alder, fir, oak and some maple and ash. Much of this land is sufficiently elevated to admit of settlement. Immediately back of these bottoms and not unfrequently approaching the river's edge rise the low mountains, sometimes rather abruptly, but seldom precipitously, from 1000 to 5000 feet, groaning under a dense forest of evergreen, fir, spruce and cedar, interspersed with maple and alder. Lower down the river the mountains occasionally arise from the water's edge with great abruptness and sometimes raise their basaltic walls like perpendicular battlements 500 or 600 feet, from whose heights the timber lands rise with a gradual ascent and, during the rainy season, drain their waters in imposing cascades over these buttresses of nature into the bosom of the noble river whose rolling floods perpetually wash their base. As you approach nearer the ocean the scenery becomes more imposing. The river widens into a broad sheet from six to fifteen miles in width, the high hills on either side, with, however, many exceptions, rise abruptly from the water's edge and, clothed with their evergreen forests, present an imposing contrast to the wide spread expanse of waters pent up at their bases. Nor does the grandeur of the scene decline till this vast accumulation of water loses itself in the Pacific, where may be seen, to the astonishment of the beholder, the warring of mighty waters as they meet and dash their angry spray from the summits of mighty billows, bidding defiance to all the inventions of man.

No doubt that the great commercial emporium of Oregon must rise into being in the vicinity of this imposing scenery: and conditions are rapidly working to bring about the commencement of this work. Milling companies are being formed with a large capital for the erection of both water and steam sawmills, and other mills are being erected; town-sites are selected and the rage for speculation in town property is fast ripening into a mania. May God grant that the children of light may be wise and prepare to follow this

extraordinary spirit of enterprise with the spirit of the gospel.
Yours in gospel bonds,

E. FISHER.

Oregon City, Ore., Nov. 31st, 1849.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Br.:

After a long delay in consequence of our unsettled affairs as Baptists in Oregon, and the multiplicity of cares that come upon me, both of a religious and domestic character, by means of my absence in California, I now take my pen in hand to write you as near as possible the present state of things with us and to answer a few of your inquiries. And, first, I will acknowledge the receipt of a list of letters which I have received from you: One under date of July 20th, 1848; one July 29, 1848; also the box of goods enclosing with them the bill of lading. Goods were received in good order. With this I have an inventory and bill of lading of goods shipped on board the Serampore. One under date of Aug. 8th, 1848, and with it, I think, a commission No. 1281, April 1, 1848. Also a commission for Elder V. Snelling. Br. Snelling is yet in the gold mines and will not probably return until next spring, consequently he will not be able to fill that appointment. One under date of October 2, 1848; one from Jas. M. Whitehead, Nov. 1st, 1848; one from yourself under date Nov. 1, 1848, accompanying an invoice of goods shipped on board the bark Whiton, Roland Gelston, master, with the bill of lading. Goods all arrived safe and in good order, except that the shoes and donation goods had become somewhat moldy—not materially damaged. Also one under date of Nov. 23, 1848. I have just written and forwarded a letter to Rev. S. S. Cutting, editor of the N. Y. Recorder; also one to the ladies of the First Bap. Church in N. Y., acknowledging receipt of their valuable donation.

On the twenty-third of August I arrived in Clatsop Plains from California, after a passage of twenty-six days. Found

my family in good health. I immediately entered upon the duties of a missionary and, after preaching one Sabbath, left home on a tour in the Willamette Valley. On reaching this city I found two of our brethren in the legislature and two more from the country present. Upon deliberating upon the importance of immediate action on the subject of locating and putting into operation an institution of learning under the direction of the denomination, it was agreed to call a meeting to be held at this place on the 21st and 22d days of September to take action on the subject. The meeting was accordingly held and an educational society was formed; but in consequence of the small number in attendance the meeting was adjourned to the 4th of October to the YamHill Church. At that meeting every church in the Territory but one was represented, and the convention voted to locate the institution on the Willamette River about 70 miles up the river from this place and appointed a brother to repair immediately to the place and secure the site. It was then understood that the land was vacant. The convention also appointed Rev. Richmond Cheadle to labor two months for the purpose of raising two thousand dollars for erecting a school house and covering other necessary expenses. The convention also invited me to move to the place and take charge of the school and voted to pay me \$400 and to request the Home Missionary Society to continue my appointment with the usual salary of \$200, regarding that amount as barely sufficient to sustain my family for the year. Solely from the consideration of the fact that the exigency of the case seemed to demand immediate action, and we have no man in Oregon but myself to whom our brethren are willing to look to fill his place till a competent teacher can be found and sent us from the States, I thought it best to comply with the call. The convention also instructed me to correspond with you on the subject of engaging a well qualified teacher to take charge of the school. We hope to be able to pay a teacher \$800 salary. Thus you perceive the reason why I address you from this place. I have just arrived here with my

family. We have just learned that the site on which we have fixed for the location of our institution is not vacant and we have concluded to spend the winter in this place. I shall open a school here within a few days and preach in this place and the adjoining towns on Sabbaths. I think it rather probable the result will be that we shall finally locate our school in the immediate vicinity of this city. Public sentiment of our wiser brethren seems to be setting strongly this way. By the opening of the spring the question will be decided whether we locate permanently at this place or in the center of the Willamette Valley. We hope to be able to buy the lands and erect the first temporary buildings and perhaps support our first teacher without calling on the liberality of our eastern brethren directly for funds. But we must look to you for a competent teacher qualified to teach the Latin and Greek languages, natural science and mathematics, and it will be very desirable if he could teach music. Money is plentiful¹⁹⁰ in this country and education is held in popular favor. Our plan will be to find some Baptist friends who will buy and hold a claim of 640 acres and donate a portion of it for a site now while land is cheap. Will you find us a teacher and send him to our assistance as soon as a properly qualified one can be obtained? My removal from the mouth of the Columbia renders it important that your Board find a young man of talent and appoint him to labor at Astoria and Clatsop Plains. A man is also much needed in the church in Tualatin Plains. The church in that place will supply a minister's table from the first and the place is important in location. I shall report at the expiration of this quarter for all the time I have served as missionary since I returned from California, but I shall forward you a portion of my journal the next mail.

I am much interested in the private letter. Almost all articles of drygoods sell at from 100 to 300 or 400 per cent ad-

¹⁹⁰ The increase in the supply of money in Oregon was, of course, the result of the California mines. Some gold was coined in Oregon City, and Mexican and Peruvian silver dollars had come in large quantities. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:52-55.

vance on the market prices in New York. Farming utensils, castings, especially stoves, tinware, nails, crockery, patent pails, washtubs, brass kettles and household furniture of kinds sell very high, and all kinds of fabrics made of leather (shoes, boots, saddles, bridles, etc.), ready-made clothing, calicoes and all kind of cotton goods, flannels, silks and fashionable woolen goods for ladies' clothing, woolen hose and half hose, etc. I hope your friend still continues of the same mind. I think I can find a faithful, experienced Baptist brother who will like to embark in the business. He is now in California for his stock of goods. His name is Levi A. Rice, formerly from Ohio, whose moral character stands high. Should your friend wish farther information and still wish to do something through the medium of trade for the moral and religious conditions of Oregon, I hope God will open the door for him. We have also another brother of good standing and also an attorney-at-law who is about entering into trade in this place, who no doubt might be induced to enter into this kind of business. Freight from San Francisco to this place costs as much as freight from N. Y. to this place. Your friend will readily see the advantage of shipping directly to the Columbia. Our merchants all trade through California. Consequently it is their policy to discourage all capitalists in eastern cities from embarking directly in the Oregon trade. Oregon has suffered long from this selfish policy.

Yours with Christian esteem,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Feb. 9, 1850.

Oregon City, Jan 8th, 1850.

Dear Br. Hill:

. . . You have probably learned before this that I am at this place engaged in teaching and preaching. A conviction of duty rather than a desire to change has brought me to this place and this employment. At this period in my life I have not the most distant desire to engage in teaching and

thus abate my ministerial labors. But the time has evidently come when we, as a denomination, must act in reference to securing a site and putting into operation a school or we lose an important kind of influence with the rising generation, and even with the present acting community.

The public are asking for schools and will have them. If then we select our site and leave the schools to spring up hereafter, the public will repose no confidence in our enterprise and other denominations will educate not only the children generally, but even those of our Baptist families. And then we need, very much need, some benevolent object around which we may rally the denomination, and I know of no one benevolent object in which they will so readily be brought to harmonize and which will serve as a precursor to all the benevolent enterprises of the gospel as an institution of learning under the control and instruction of Baptist men and dependent on the denomination for support. If we undertook the work, I felt fully assured that I must give a portion of my time at least to the work till such time as we could secure the labors of a professional teacher from the States. Again, should the Lord of all hearts convert our children and they look to the work of the ministry, they must either enter upon that work uneducated, or we must provide the means of education for them in Oregon. We cannot expect to send our sons back across the Rocky Mountains or by way of the ocean to the States to be educated, and they are fast growing up around us. With these and many other considerations rushing upon my mind, I was led to the conviction that it was my duty for the time being to enter upon the work of teacher as well as preacher till we can be supplied from other sources. Perhaps Br. Johnson and myself will be enabled to perform nearly as much ministerial labor and sustain the school, if it is continued in this place, as we should if I had continued at Clatsop, although I left that place at last with great reluctance. We shall probably finally fix upon a site for our institution immediately adjoining this city plat, about half a mile from the

river on a point which will have a commanding view of the river below and a portion of the city as soon as the timber is removed. We have provided for forty acres of land.¹⁹¹ I suppose Br. Johnson has given you the particulars. I therefore will leave this subject for the present.

I have rather a promising school.¹⁹² How long it may remain so is with the All Wise to disclose. We shall much need classical books, such as are in use in our best schools in the States, among which we must have a few Latin and Greek grammars, lexicons and such preparatory books as are required in fitting for college in the old States. Also Roman and Greek antiquities and classical dictionaries. We hope to make arrangements as soon as we can to order such books as we shall need. But should you find any liberal friend of education in Oregon, I hope you will do something for us by way of securing a few books of the above description.

We intend to make vigorous efforts the coming summer to erect a good wooden school house, perhaps with two apartments and a boarding house, notwithstanding the enormous price of lumber and all building materials and labor. Lumber is now worth \$100 per thousand feet; carpenter's labor is worth from \$8 to \$12 per day. Flour is worth \$25 per barrel, potatoes \$4 per bushel and all other provisions proportionately high. You will readily see that all our expenses must be very high, and there is no immediate prospect of their becoming lower. All kinds of labor are richly rewarded except that of preachers and teachers.

¹⁹¹ This was on the Ezra Fisher Donation Land Claim, which adjoins on the east the town site of Oregon City. The author, Rev. H. Johnson and J. Jeffers bought the right to this tract of over 600 acres, and the author obtained a patent to it from the government. See his letters of March 29, 1850, and Nov. 12, 1850. The purchasers agreed to give the college a tract, and fifty-one acres were later deeded to the trustees of Oregon City University, under which name the institution was chartered. Some of the timber on the claim was very large. One red fir measured 300 feet in height.

The view mentioned included the Willamette River and three snow-capped peaks—St. Helens, Adams and Hood.

¹⁹² A niece of Hezekiah Johnson had taught a private school in the church building for several months, sometime previous to this. Besides the author's school there were at this time only three other schools in the town—two under Roman Catholic auspices, and a private school for girls under Mrs. N. M. Thornton. See letter of Feb. 8th of this year.

Our Board of Trustees have requested me to ask that your Board of the H. M. Soc. continue to appoint me with a salary of \$200, in addition to what I shall receive for teaching, as they expect I shall preach nearly every Sabbath and spend some time in visiting the churches and attending public meetings. Your Board should not neglect a single month to secure a suitable man for the mouth of the Columbia River and to have him on the way immediately. The place is too important to be neglected.

Accept, dear brother, my grateful acknowledgement of the clothes you sent me. They fit well and are the best I have to appear in public in. The Lord grant you your reward. The clothing we have received from the States has been of essential service to my family, and I know not how I should have been able to have sustained my family without them. Let our friends know that partially worn woolen clothes aid us in publishing the gospel in this new and neglected territory.

I wrote you last about the 8th and 9th of Nov. and then thought I should have forwarded these sheets in a few weeks, but the labors of my school and other duties have prevented till the present. You will soon hear from me again on the subject of your friend's commercial enterprise and by way of my report, etc.

Yours affectionately,

EZRA FISHER.

Received, April 6, 1850.

Oregon City, Jan. 26, 1850.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

Your letter of June, blank day, 1849, and June 28th, were received on the 18th inst., acknowledging the receipt of sundry letters from me, one of which contained an order for goods. I trust you have filled the bill and forwarded the goods, with the replacing of those lost on the Undine. I think rather unfavorably of the Undine wreck, falsely so

called, and I have not unbounded confidence in Capt. Gelston. He presented a friend of mine with an order on me for freight on the goods you shipped by him for me to California, after giving you a receipt on the bill of lading. The order was not paid and I presume he will not present me with his bill as I retain his receipt in the bill of lading. I wish to give you a statement of facts relative to our missionary affairs in Oregon. When we came to Oregon, Oregon City was the only place worthy the name of a town in the whole Territory. Br. Johnson seemed providentially thrown into this city. I was providentially thrown into Tualatin Plains. I explored the settled part of the country generally, and in view of the fact that Br. Snelling being placed at Yamhill, a place somewhat central in the Willamette Valley, and in view of the prospect that a place of importance would soon rise at the mouth of the Columbia, Br. Johnson complied with my suggestion that it was important to fill that opening. I removed to Astoria, but finding little could be done there till commerce increased, yet being conscious of the importance of the point prospectively, I removed eight miles to Clatsop Plains, where we have a few good members, thinking to labor there till circumstances should favor an attempt to build up an interest at Astoria. Things were new, everything was to be done, both in the way of providing for my family, for common schools and for the cause of Christ. The means of subsistence, except clothing and mechanics' labor, were cheap. We knew the policy of your Board in relation to the amount they give to aid the churches in sustaining each missionary and, in the main, we approved of it. We could not expect any very rapid changes in the settlement of our territory, so far removed from all other settlements. Yet we were confident that our position was of great importance. Our brethren were generally men who had received their religious training in the West and knew but little of system in the support of the ministry and indeed had not yet generally learned the importance of ministerial

support. Were we to ask the Board for \$600 salary, that would appear like an enormous expenditure in comparison to the relative results and importance of the field. We, therefore, concluded that to abandon the field would be disastrous and our only alternative, in view of all circumstances, would be to practice economy, even to parsimony, and, while the country was new, to meet the necessities of our families, which remained unprovided for by the Board and our brethren and friends, by our own industry and that of our families till we could have time to correct false views in our brethren here and the age of the country would insure us entire support. I know not how it has been with Br. Johnson, but I have never attempted to conceal from your Board the fact that sheer necessity impelled me to labor, working with my hands to supply my immediate wants. Had you forwarded to me the \$200 in cash, that sum would not have bought \$65 worth of clothing and groceries in N. Y. My only alternative seemed to be to order goods for my family supplies. This process has taken from one to two or three years to get our returns. With this state of things I have been inclined to wait with patience. Could we have received our pay from N. Y. at your prices at the end of each year, we might have been able to give ourselves mostly to the gospel ministry up to the time of the commencement of the gold excitement. Since that time changes have gone on with unparalleled rapidity, till the time has now come when, instead of \$200, it would require \$1800 to \$2000 to give my family a comfortable support at Oregon prices. Gold is found so abundant that our men will go and get it in preference to farming their rich lands, till potatoes are worth \$5 per bushel and flour is from \$25 to \$30 per barrel, and all kinds of living extravagantly high. Gold is found on the Umpqua and Rogue rivers in Oregon, so that our men will probably mine near home next summer.¹⁹³ We therefore expect a great in-

¹⁹³ Mining was just beginning in these valleys. The summer of 1850 saw two hundred miners at work in the Umpqua Valley, but the real boom came some time later. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:184-186.

flux of population into our Territory the coming year.¹⁹⁴ Farming will revive and sawmills will be multiplied through the country bordering on our navigable waters. We confidently hope for a more settled state of things and expect our pel. I could now settle myself in Tuallity Plains and have my family table supplied, excepting groceries. Then \$200 brethren will soon become liberal in the support of the gos- or \$300 would meet all my expenses, by ordering my clothing and groceries from N. Y. But we must have a school, and our brethren think my duty calls me to take charge of it till you can send us suitable teachers. I may realize about \$1000 per year for teaching, if we continue the school in this place, and be able to preach every Sabbath. Next week the friends of education meet at this place and no doubt they will agree in opinion with Br. Johnson and myself on the place of location. We have forty acres of land cleared from all incumbrances immediately adjoining the city plat for the site, and can build within half a mile from the Willamette River on a commanding eminence. In the event of my teaching, Br. Johnson will travel through the Willamette Valley the coming season and I shall spend my Sabbaths with this church and at Milwaukie,¹⁹⁵ a business place springing up six miles below this place on the river. My first quarter of the school will close next week. School has been large and I have been compelled to call in the aid of my eldest daughter part of the time. We shall continue the school in the Baptist meeting house¹⁹⁶ till next fall or the spring following and, in the meantime, we shall make an effort to build a good

¹⁹⁴ See note 154.

¹⁹⁵ Milwaukie, only recently laid out, had a population of 500 in the fall of 1850. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:251, quoted from *Oregon Spectator*, Nov. 28, 1850.

¹⁹⁶ Among the pupils who attended the school while it was still held in the meeting-house were Theodore Matlock, Almond B. Holcomb, William G. Welch, Isaac Holman, John Welch, F. Dillard Holman, E. M. White, W. L. White, Lucy Jane G. Fisher, E. T. T. Fisher, Ann Eliza Fisher, Franklin Johnson, W. C. Johnson, Annie Abernethy, Abner P. Gaines, Noble W. Matlock, Jane Matlock, Ellen Matlock, William Bullack, William Cason, Adoniram Cason, James Cason, Maria Morfitt, William Morfitt, Julia A. Johnson, Charlotte Johnson, Amy Johnson, Sarah Josephine Fisher, Lucy Moore, Rebecca Parrish, Pauline Tompkins, Helen Tompkins, Josephine Hunsaker, Horton Hunsaker, Jacob Hunsaker and Medorem Crawford.—Recollections of W. C. Johnson and W. G. Welch.

school house, with two apartments, on the contemplated site, although lumber is from \$100 to \$150 per thousand feet and carpenter's and joiners' labor is from \$8 to \$12 per day. Cannot some friends furnish us with a bell weighing from 100 to 400 pounds? You may learn by the bearer of this that a large company is forming, or rather is formed, to build up a town immediately adjoining Cape Disappointment with steam mill, steam boat,¹⁹⁷ etc. This is adjoining the point which the government will first fortify on the north side of the Columbia at the entrance from the ocean. The enterprise will probably succeed, not however to the prejudice of Astoria. I am pained in spirit every moment I think of that point (at the mouth of the Columbia) being left destitute of a Baptist minister. Your Board cannot be too forcibly reminded of the importance of early occupying that part of the field. The N. Y. of Oregon must spring up in that vicinity very soon. The first steamer which comes into the Columbia to run between this city and the mouth of the Columbia will stop the shipping at Astoria. We have a small church at Clatsop Plains, not quite extinct, which would receive a minister and do what they can for his support. If we had a man at the mouth of the river now, a block 200 feet square and located in the most favorable part of this new town, called Lancaster, would be donated for church purposes. Elder Snelling is in California and I learn that he has made arrangements to move his family to that territory.¹⁹⁸ He has not labored under the commission you sent me. We feel that we must have a missionary or two more for the Willamette Valley. One is needed at Salem on the east side of the river and one on the opposite side of the river with the Rickreal Church or the Yamhill Church.

Yours affectionately,

EZRA FISHER.

Received May 8, 1850.

¹⁹⁷ This was later known as Pacific City, then Unity, and then Ilwaco.—G. H. Himes.

¹⁹⁸ Snelling died in California in 1855. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:44.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Feb. 8th, 1850.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Br.:

I take my pen in hand to give you the Constitution of the Oregon Bapt. Educational Soc., together with a few of the resolutions passed at the late meeting of its Board held in this city Feb. 2nd. As we have as yet no means of publishing the proceedings of our meetings, we must transcribe and send all our proceedings in letter form:—

Constitution of the Oregon Baptist Education Society as adopted by convention, Sept. 22, 1849.

Art. 1st.—This Society shall be called the Oregon Bapt. Education Society.

Art. 2nd.—The objects of this society shall be to promote the cause of education generally; to locate one literary institution, or more, for the benefit of the Baptist denomination in Oregon Territory; to appoint a board of trustees for each of the same; to hold such board or boards responsible for the faithful execution of the trust committed to them; to aid in the education of indigent pious youth of promising gifts in our churches and to raise funds to carry into effect the above named objects.

Art. 3rd.—The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and five Directors who shall constitute a board for the transaction of business, all of whom shall be members of regular Baptist churches, and three of whom shall form a quorum whose respective duties shall be the same as those usually exercised by officers of the same name in similar societies, who shall be chosen annually, but shall hold their offices until their successors are chosen.

Art. 4th.—Any person may become a member of this Society by subscribing to this Constitution.

Art. 5th.—This Society shall hold its annual meetings at the time and place of the annual meetings of the Willamette Baptist Association.

Art. 6th.—It shall be the duty of the President to call special meetings of this Society at the request of any two members of the Board.

Art. 7th.—The officers of this Society shall be empowered to regulate their own meetings and to make their own by-laws, not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Art. 8th.—This Constitution may be altered or amended at any annual meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds the members present.

In view of the improbability of securing the property where the locating committee had fixed for the site of an institution and in view of the manifest providences of God, the Education Society convened Feb. 3d. Elder H. Johnson called to the chair. Moderator prayed. On motion it was voted to reconsider so much of the proceedings of the Society as it related to the location of an institution of learning in the center of the Willamette Valley.

After hearing proposals from the brethren who had purchased the Barlow claim in reference to this object, it was unanimously voted to locate the Baptist institution on the forty acres of the above named claim immediately adjoining the city plat of Oregon City.¹⁹⁹ The site will command an excellent view of the river below the town and the lower part of the city. Providence has seemed to close up almost

¹⁹⁹ The tract is now known on official maps as the Ezra Fisher Donation Land Claim, and adjoins the Oregon City Claim on the east. No college buildings were ever erected there. The building, as recorded later in these letters, was put up in Oregon City.

This Baptist institution was only one of a number of Christian denominational institutions which were projected in these days when the state had as yet failed to provide adequately for public instruction. Some of these institutions died early; others, as at Monmouth and Corvallis, were merged into state institutions. A few survive as Christian academies and colleges.

Among those which perished were the Clackamas "female seminary" at Oregon City, a college at Eugene, and academies at Sheridan and Santiam. Among the surviving schools are Willamette University, Pacific University, Albany College, and McMinnville College. To this last was turned over the remnant of the property of that Oregon City college, whose early history is given in these letters.

every other favorable point and open up this point unanticipated by all and unsought, and by this means throw us as a denomination in juxtaposition with the Romans, and in the only position where they may be successfully met. Here they are making great efforts to secure the work of educating the children and youths of our city and surrounding country. They have erected a nunnery about 70 feet by 30, two and one half stories, with a school in operation under a lady superior and five assistant sisters of charity and have about sixteen or twenty female children from families in our city. One of the priests teaches all the male scholars he can draw under his instruction, which, by the way, have been very few (not more than 8 or 10) since I opened my school. My school the last quarter numbered more than fifty.

We have also a female school in this place taught by a Presbyterian lady.²⁰⁰

On motion it was unanimously voted to request Elder Ezra Fisher to continue the charge of the school in Oregon City and that the Board of the A. B. H. M. Soc. be requested to continue him as a missionary in this place and vicinity at a salary of two hundred dollars a year. The Society voted to make an effort to raise four thousand dollars the ensuing year to erect a suitable school house and to meet the incidental expenses of the Society. The Society voted to appoint Elder Richmond Cheadle its agent for two months, with a salary of one hundred dollars per month, to carry the above resolution into effect.

Voted to request the Board of the A. B. H. M. Soc. to use their influence to procure us a bell, weighing from 200 to 500 pounds, and classical books such as are in use in literary schools in New England and New York.

Since the last named meeting the proprietors of the claim have agreed to give to the institution about ten or

²⁰⁰ This was Mrs. N. M. Thornton. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:35.

twelve acres more of land lying immediately adjoining the site and we hope for a small donation from the adjoining claim.²⁰¹ I must renew my private request that you find us a well qualified, literary young man and send him out to our relief as soon as practicable. I cannot think of being long confined five days in seven within the walls of a schoolhouse while so much is to be done in the ministry and there are so few laborers. But at present our brethren have so willed it and I comply from a conviction of duty rather than from a desire for the office. I wish to leave this matter with God. I trust I shall be able to make out my report up to this time next week.

I am as ever your unworthy brother and fellow-laborer in Christ's vineyard,

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary in Oregon.

Received May 27, 1850.

Oregon City, Feb. 19, 1850.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society from the 22nd of August, 1849, up to the first of Oct. for the term of ten weeks, it being the first report which I have made for the year commencing the first day of April, 1849. I have labored ten weeks in the quarter, preached fourteen sermons, delivered six lectures on the subject of Sunday schools and religious education, visited religiously fifty families and one common school, baptized one, traveled to and from appointments 535 miles. The remaining items of the report I have been unable to do anything for, except that the Sunday school in Clatsop Plains is continued with three Baptist teachers and about twenty scholars; about 135 volumes in the library. For a more

²⁰¹ This donation from the adjoining claim was never made.

detailed account of my labors this quarter I refer you to my journal, which I forwarded you in December last, if I mistake not.

Respectfully submitted,
EZRA FISHER,
Missionary in Oregon.

Oregon City, Feb. 20, 1850.

Herein I send you my report of labor for the third quarter of the year commencing April 1st, the quarter commencing October first, 1849. Labored thirteen weeks, preached fourteen times, delivered thirteen Sunday school lectures and twenty lectures to my day school, attended three church meetings and visited eighteen families religiously. But have done nothing on the other various subjects required in the form of reports in the commission. The reason I assign is the circumstance of my being called to remove to Oregon City and the new and somewhat peculiar relation I have consented to sustain for the time being as a teacher in our newly organized school for Oregon.

The time has come when all these benevolent enterprises should have a home in the hearts of all the Baptists in Oregon and should be responded to by benevolent action; and I think something will soon be done on the subjects of home missions, foreign missions and the Bible cause, as well as for our institution of learning. My school has been flourishing the past quarter and numbered between sixty and seventy different scholars. I had about ten young men and lads who declaimed each two weeks and about 20, male and female, who wrote and read their compositions each alternate two weeks. Two boys in algebra, one young lady in natural philosophy, about a dozen in geography and about the same number in English grammar, about twenty in arithmetic and two in history. The present term is an unfavorable season of the year. I have taught but one week,

have 24 and the prospects fair for about 40 scholars. At a meeting of the board of the institution, held in this place on the 15th instant, it was resolved to name the institution the Oregon City College.

I will now proceed to give you a report as near as I can calculate for the quarter ending April 1st, 1850. My field of labor comprises Oregon City, Milwaukie and vicinity. I have labored thirteen weeks in the quarter, preached sixteen sermons, attended three church meetings. Addressed Sabbath schools twelve times, my day school fifteen times on religious subjects. Delivered one temperance lecture. Visited religiously thirty-five families and individuals. I have assisted in the celebration of the Lord's Supper twice; attended one meeting of the Oregon Baptists' Education Society. Have the charge of the Sabbath school in Oregon City, with 20 scholars and four teachers and 200 volumes in the library. The remaining requisitions in the instructions I have omitted, as nothing is yet done for them. Our congregations in this place and Milwaukie are increasing and it seems obvious to all our friends at least that the hand of God is in our attempts to establish our institution in this place. Marked attention is generally paid to the preached word and we fondly hope that God will visit us with His spirit, notwithstanding all the rage for gold and speculation with which we are surrounded. All of which is respectfully submitted.

EZRA FISHER,
Missionary in Oregon.

Received May 27, 1850.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., March 29, 1850.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

Yours of July 14, 1849, addressed to me in California, containing a copy of the one you forwarded in June, yours under date October 15th, 1849, accompanying my commission bearing date Apr. 1, 1849, and yours of Dec. 10, 1849, have all been received within a few days, the last of which I hasten to answer as briefly and as directly as the complicated circumstances will admit. You may rest assured that it affords us great pleasure in Oregon to have so strong assurances that our brethren on the other side of the mountains cherish so correct and liberal views in relation to the future importance of Oregon and we are still more cheered to discover the almost impatient anxiety you manifest in our prompt action on the subject of locating and bringing into existence a school for the benefit of the Baptists in Oregon.

I have only to say that when I wrote you in Feb. and July the denomination as such in Oregon had not been consulted on the subject in any of its peculiar relations and my object in writing you from San Francisco was rather to apprise you of the course marked out in my own mind for my immediate actions than to ask our eastern brethren to aid us immediately. But God in His providence has seemed to mark out for us a course in an unexpected manner and in a relation which we had little anticipated and now we are compelled to yield to the manifest providential indications or sacrifice the most important local position in the Territory and with it the little public confidence we are beginning to secure. This is the only point in Oregon where Romanism and Protestantism can be brought to bear directly upon each other. The nuns have here a school and we understand the Jesuits contemplate establishing a college in the immediate vicinity. We have good reason to suppose that other denominations would have soon fixed upon this place if we had not secured our site first. I have already informed you that we have secured a land claim immediately adjoining the claim on which Oregon

City stands at an expense of \$5000. Br. Johnson assumed one half of the debt and I paid \$1250, which consumed all my available means, and we found a friend of mine who paid \$1250. This was the only method we could hit upon by which we could secure anything like a suitable amount of land for college purposes near this place without paying from \$8000 to \$15000. We have appropriated about fifty acres of the claim, in the most eligible situation and within about half a mile of the most populous part of the town, to college purposes and the Trustees accepted the same. Since I last wrote you we have secured a town lot, 66 feet by 100, in a central part of the city as a donation.²⁰² This lot is now valued at \$300. We wish to put on this lot a building, 66 by 30, two stories, the present season, if possible, to be occupied by the school till such time as we can sustain a school on the college premises. The building and lot will then sell for more than the first cost or, what is rather probable, may be appropriated to a preparatory department. By this plan we shall be able to keep a full school from this time forward, with suitable teachers. Should the price of lumber fall, as is probable it will, we shall labor hard to raise the requisite means and build this summer and fall. Yet we have few men in Oregon to whom we may look to give us the requisite means. Br. Johnson, one other brother and myself have subscribed \$650 toward that object. Our school now occupies the Baptist meeting house and must still occupy it till we can build. We also need a boarding house erected so that we can be prepared to board as cheap as board can be had in the country. This must be done or we shall fail of benefiting children of Baptist families in the country. Unless funds can be raised in the States to the amount of five or six thousand dollars, this part of the work must be delayed. Now we think that the school itself will afford a good teacher from six hundred to a thousand dollars salary. We think we can manage to furnish him a garden and other perquisites to the amount

²⁰² This was lot 8, block 97, of the Oregon City townsite, and was southwest of the present Barclay School building.—Clackamas County Deed Records.

of from one to two hundred dollars. We think by these means, if the friends in the States could raise \$200, so that he could provide his family clothing at N. York, we can sustain a good teacher. We would suggest that he leave his measure for all his clothes with you, as it costs 30 dollars in California gold to get a coat made at a tailor's shop in Oregon and all other sewing is proportionately high. \$200 in New York is worth \$1000 here in the line of clothing, etc.

We must have a teacher well qualified to be a popular teacher in a New England Academy and one who wishes to make teaching his business for life. It would be desirable that he have a wife qualified to teach in the primary department, or to teach a ladies' school. It will be of little use to send us a stupid, half-educated man, with little common sense and ignorant of human nature. Should he be a good singer, and preacher too, it will be all the better. We can find him work. We want and must have, if possible, almost everything necessary to afford facilities for students to prosecute their studies without serious inconvenience. We need a system of common school books so that we can furnish our scholars with the best approved books at moderate prices, when they enter the school. Our school will soon have scholars commencing a preparatory course and we must therefore have text books. We then want common school books, from the spelling book to the rhetorical reader. Perhaps Saunders' series is as good as you can furnish us. We are now using these as reading books, but there are no more to be obtained in the country. We are using Thompson's Arithmetic; perhaps that is as good as you can send us.²⁰³ We use Brown's and Wells' English grammar. We have a few in natural philosophy; we use Olmsted's. We have some in algebra and

²⁰³ James B. Thomson had a number of works on arithmetic published by Clark and Maynard, New York.

Denison Olmsted, of Yale, had a number of works on natural philosophy by the same publishers; and by R. B. Collins and E. D. Trueman of Cincinnati.—American Catalogue for 1876, and O. A. Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana*. W. H. Wells' Grammar was published in Boston, and Gould Brown's Grammar was published in New York. *Ibid.*

shall soon need a few Latin and Greek grammars, readers, and lexicons. Now it seems almost indispensable to our success that we have the most approved works always at hand. Can you not find some friends who will send out by our teacher on commission a small book store of school books and religious and literary works and afford them here for forty or fifty per cent profits? They will meet with a ready sale and we can find some friend here who will sell them for a small per cent for the benefit of the school and Oregon generally, without taxing the teacher with this matter farther than receiving the funds and forwarding them and conducting the correspondence. More than a thousand dollars' worth of school books were brought to this place about two months since ²⁰⁴ and they are almost entirely sold, so that the country will be out of school books in a few weeks. In addition to this we want a small, well selected library, comprising histories, voyages, travels, literary and scientific works, especially works on the natural sciences, mental and moral philosophy, political economy, lives, theological standard works, etc.; also a set of globes, a small portable telescope and a case of instruments to facilitate the study of natural philosophy, surveying, trigonometry, etc. We have already asked you for a bell. We repeat that request; if you can find some benevolent friends who can send us one of from 200 to 600 pounds weight. The Romans regulate the time of our city by their bells. Not a Protestant bell in the place. We need nails, hinges, door latches and glass sufficient for building a house of the size before named and furnishing two school rooms thirty feet square. Sash also can be bought and shipped much cheaper than they can be bought here. We think you could render us essential service, if your Board would take this matter into advisement and, when you find the man, commission him to travel a few months through some of the most important cities and large towns in the free states and solicit funds for the

²⁰⁴ These were brought out by G. H. Atkinson.—George H. Himes.

above named object. We want no old, useless books shipped. Send us standard works of the most approved authors, if you would aid us in giving a sound political, moral and religious character to Oregon. 23000 miles is too far to ship trash for a literary institution and, I trust, theological school for the Baptists in Oregon.

We intend to raise \$5000 or more for this work in Oregon the present season. We have an agent appointed for two months and he will work in the best part of the season. I this day introduced the subject to a friend of mine. He assured me that he would give us \$500 when we got ready to circulate our subscription and would also deed us a lot in Lancaster, a town just springing into existence on Baker's bay on the north side of the mouth of the Columbia, which he said was worth \$500 more. Surely, thought I, the Lord intends to bless our feeble efforts. We feel that we are placed by providence now where we cannot leave the work and we see no other way but that I must stand in this moral Thermopylæ until you can send us aid. We have reason to expect my health must gradually decline under the labor of teaching, and preaching every Sabbath. Yet such is the great destitution in our whole territory that we feel that it is sinful for me to think of leaving the appropriate duties of the ministry. There are times in the history of men's lives in which all the energies of the man are called for. This at present is our condition in Oregon. This is the time when the demand for preparatory work is great, very great. There is scarcely a rising town in Oregon where church property and educational property would not be donated to the denomination, if we had a few more men in the ministry, or, what would be still better, a few more wise, active laymen to secure such valuable property.

We hope the brother you appointed for Oregon last Nov. is on his way with one or two more fellow laborers. We would name Fort Vancouver as a commanding point which should

be occupied very soon. Soon immigration will be pouring in upon us from over the mountains and by water. Your Board must be apprised of this. We have the best evidence that gold is abundant in the south part of Oregon, and probably our Oregon men will dig near home this season.

We see that Br. Geo. C. Chandler is about leaving the presidency of Franklin College.²⁰⁵ He is favorably known by us. Would it not be right to draw him away from Indiana to the charge of our school? Means must not be wanting to insure us a teacher such as will secure public respect and confidence? My school numbers about 45 this quarter and will be larger from this time forward. Last quarter it was larger.

We subscribe ourselves, Yours respectfully,
EZRA FISHER, W. T. MATLOCK,
Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Clerk of the Board.
Done by order of the Trustees of Oregon City College.
Received July 9, 1850.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., July 1, 1850.

To Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. Am. Bapt. Home Mission Soc.:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the first quarter ending June 30, 1850. My field comprises Oregon City and Milwaukie, six miles below Oregon City on the east bank of the Willamette, Clackamas County, and Linn County,²⁰⁶ Washington County (formerly Tualatin) immediately across the Willamette from Oregon City. I statedly supply the station at Oregon City half the time and superintend the Sabbath school and teach the Bible class. Supply the station at Milwaukie once each four weeks and supply the station at Linn City once each Sabbath three-fourths of the time. I have labored thirteen weeks the last quarter, preached twenty-five

²⁰⁵ Rev. George C. Chandler (1807-1881) was licensed by the church in Springfield, Vermont, while the author was pastor there. He went to Indiana in 1838 and was president of Franklin College from 1843 to 1850. He came to Oregon in 1851. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:73-82.

²⁰⁶ Linn City was laid off by Robert Moore in 1843. *Hist. of Portland*, ed. by H. W. Scott, p. 78.

(25) sermons, delivered one annual address before the Oregon Tract Society,²⁰⁷ auxiliary to the A. T. Soc., twelve lectures to the Sabbath school and Bible class, attended three prayer meetings and one three-days' meeting in connection with the communion season of the church in this place on the first Sab. in May. Visited religiously twenty-three families and individuals, visited no common schools, addressed my own on moral and religious subjects twenty-seven times. Baptized none, obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge, organized no church, aided in no ordination, traveled to and from my appointments one hundred and fifty miles, received none by letter or experience, no conversions known, none preparing for the ministry, except one anti-missionary brother who is studying and reciting to me. No monthly concert of prayer (I trust this thing will not long be so).

The people where I labor have done nothing for any of the missionary societies. Connected with the places where I preach are three Sabbath schools in which the Baptists participate, but only one under Baptist direction. The one at Oregon City has four teachers, 20 scholars, and 200 volumes in the library. I have a Bible class of six scholars.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary at Oregon City and vicinity.

Our association has just closed an interesting session.²⁰⁸ All was harmony; all the delegates were deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of ministerial support and passed some spirited resolutions on the subject. One small church sent up a pledge that they would pay one hundred dollars for one fourth of the time for a year, if they could be supplied with monthly preaching. Other churches will do as well and we now have the hope that before the rainy season sets in almost every church of nominally missionary Baptists in the

²⁰⁷ This was organized in the autumn of 1848 and did some colporteurage work.—George H. Himes.

²⁰⁸ The Association met with the La Creole Church, June 28-30.—Minutes of Willamette Baptist Assn. of Ore.

Territory will have entered into a systematic arrangement of their own to sustain preaching part of the time. Yet we have serious drawbacks upon our spiritual prospects by means of the gold excitement. Some of our leading members and many of the men, especially our young men, are off in the mines much of the time, and the mind dwells on the thought of golden treasures at the expense of all the great moral and religious subjects which are indispensable to a happy and religious influence. Our citizens are now mining successfully in Oregon on the Umpqua and Rogue rivers and gold is found above the Cascade Mountains on both sides of the Columbia River²⁰⁹ and it is the opinion of those who have visited that region as prospectors that it will also become a mining region this fall.

Our school is quite as flourishing as could be expected in the midst of all these exciting causes. Several of the young men have gone to the gold regions and one or more will leave soon. Yet my average number of scholars, large and small, is about 56 the present quarter. I have had 75 different scholars since the term commenced, which was on the 27th of May. The school calls for all my energies during the week. My oldest daughter is almost constantly employed in teaching with me. In addition to teaching, for the last eight weeks I have spent about one hour each day soliciting subscriptions for our school building. We shall build the first building in the city, on account of obtaining scholars, but think we shall be able in two or three years (perhaps sooner) to take the department for young men to the college premises. We have resolved as a Board to build a house 22 feet by 42, two stories, so as to accommodate the school with two good school rooms in one story and appropriate the other story to a lecture room, 22 by 32, and a room of 10 feet by 22 for a library, philosophical apparatus or reading room, as the case may demand. We have now subscribed \$3332 in cash and what is called \$6500 in Pacific City property. The

²⁰⁹ This gold was found on bars just above the Cascades of the Columbia.—George H. Himes.

town property is not available at present and probably is not now worth more than twenty cents on the dollar. This subscription I have obtained, except a few hundred dollars. We have an agent, Eld. Richmond Cheadle, in the field for two months, so as not to materially interfere with his ministerial duties. He has just entered upon the work. We hope he will raise for us \$2000 or \$3000. We think we shall be able to raise 500 or 1000 dollars more in this vicinity for this object. The hand of the Lord seems to be with us in this work. Yet it is extremely expensive building. Lumber is worth at this time \$55 per thousand feet, delivered, and we have no hope of its being lower, and mechanics' work is worth from \$10 to \$12 per day. We are waiting with great anxiety for our teacher and hope his wife may be well qualified to teach a ladies' school. The building for our country female seminary is going up and teachers will be needed in that and we ought to furnish our proportion of teachers.²¹⁰ The building is to be 60 by 30, two stories. You will no doubt do what you can for us by way of securing a library suited to our present wants and, if possible, make arrangements so that we can have a small book store kept here so that at all times we can supply our own scholars, and all others who may want them, with the best approved school books and other popular and standard works. Our whole territory is materially suffering for want of school books now and the scarcity will be daily increasing. Our teachers, or one of them, might keep the books and sell them without entirely deranging the school. I say one of them, for with present appearances, we cannot expect to do with less than two teachers from this time forward. Beside this, we must have teachers, both male and female, through the Territory. Immigration will soon pour in upon us from all parts of the world by thousands and we must be prepared to meet this extraordinary state of things or ignor-

²¹⁰ The Clackamas County Female Seminary was the successor of a school opened by Mrs. N. M. Thornton, February 1, 1847.—*Oregon Spectator*.

It was later enlarged, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. G. H. Atkinson, and two teachers sent out through Governor Slade of Vermont taught there for a time. It became a public school some years later. The site is occupied by the present Barclay School.—George H. Himes.

ance with vice and luxury will soon work the ruin of this fair portion of our great nation. We are looking for some half dozen female teachers sent out by the Board of National Popular Educational Society.²¹¹ We hope that the Society will not be made a tool to sustain Congregationalism through all our new states and territories. From the nature of the case it must be a mighty engine and, unless well guarded, will be employed to serve the interests of those sects who manage its affairs. A fair proportion of the teachers sent out to the West by that Society should be Baptists, or the deficiency should be met by direct denominational action on our part, or the molding of the minds of the next generation in the mighty West is given over into Pedit-baptist hands, or, what is far worse, into the hands of the Romans.

We have not yet contracted the printing of the minutes of our Association, but voted to print 300 copies, together with an abstract of the minutes of 1848, all of which will about fill eight octavo pages. Our printer here will charge us \$75 for 150 copies. I have prepared them for the press and I do not know but we shall send to you for printing. We presume the work can be done for \$12 at most in New Y. The Association voted unanimously to request the Board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society to appoint Elder Vincent Snelling as their missionary to labor one year within the bounds of the Willamette Baptist Association at a salary of \$200.²¹² Done by order of the Association. Ezra Fisher, Clerk.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, Oregon, July 10, 1850.

Dear Br. Hill:

The steamer Carolina is in with the mail at Portland. I do not know how soon she will go out, but probably in two or three

²¹¹ This refers doubtless to the five young women who came out to teach in 1851. They were escorted by Thurston, the Oregon delegate to Congress, who died on the way out. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:136. (They were sent by the National Board of Education. Gov. William Slade, president, at the solicitation of Dr. G. H. Atkinson.—George H. Himes.)

²¹² Rev. Vincent Snelling was appointed Aug. 1, 1850, by the Home Mission Society, for the term of one year. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:44.

days.²¹³ I mail this in haste, hoping to be able to write again before the mail is made up at this place. We had a S. school celebration in this place on the Fourth. I was called upon to deliver the address. The whole business of the day passed off in order and on the whole a new import to the S. S. cause was given. All our schools have increased since that day—ours has almost doubled. My school large. Gold on the Umpqua and Rogue rivers not found sufficiently plentiful to justify digging while the mines are more rich elsewhere. Nothing certain as to the quantity of gold up the Columbia. I shall send an order for clothing and groceries this mail if possible.

Yours truly,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Sept. 6, 1850.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., June 17, 1850.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you a bill for goods which I wish you to fill and forward to me by the first good opportunity you have to ship direct to Oregon. I hope you will not ship to California, as it costs as much to ship from California to Oregon as it does from N. Y. to Oregon. 1 book case and table for writing made so that the book case can stand on the table, cherry, 1 barrel of best brown sugar, 1 ten pound box of green tea, 30 or 35 yds. of carpeting, not exceeding \$1.25 per yd., 1 box sperm candles, 1 pair heavy calfskin boots, No. 11s, 4 pairs of men's good calfskin shoes, No. 10, 4 do. half No. 8's and half No. 9's; 2 pairs thick shoes, 8's and 9's; 4 pairs ladies' gaiters, Nos. 4 and 4½ each; 1 pair do., No. 3; 4 pairs of ladies' shoes, calf, 4 and 4½; 2 do. Morocco, 4 and 4½; 2 pairs ladies' shoes, calf, No. 3; 2 pairs do. girls' Nos. 12 and 13;

²¹³ In June, 1850, the steamer *Carolina* (Captain R. L. Whiting) made her first run to Portland from San Francisco with mails and passengers. In August she was withdrawn and put on the run between San Francisco and Panama. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:188.

1 pair girls' gaiters, No. 12; 4 pairs child's shoes, calf, Nos. 8 and 9; 1 dress coat; 1 good summer vest and 2 pairs cloth pantaloons for me, made to your measure, rather large; 4 pairs of suspenders for pantaloons; 12 or 15 pairs colored lamb's-wool half hose for men; 6 pairs ladies' cotton hose, colored; 2 do. alpaca; 3 do. lamb's-wool; 4 do. lamb's-wool small, for girl about twelve years old; 4 do. lamb's-wool hose for girls eight or nine years of age; four pairs lamb's-wool half hose for children, four or five years old. Let all the hose and half hose be colored. 1 bolt of good gingham; 1 bolt of good worsted, or alpaca, fashionable for ladies' dresses, not very light colored; 20 yds. of lawn, light colored; 1 cheap settee, if it will not cost too much for freight; 10 yds. of Irish linen, fine, for bosoms and collars; 1 bolt cotton sheeting, bleached, fine; 1 do. unbleached, fine; 2 ladies' summer bonnets, trimmed; 2 do. misses' trimmed, age 8 and 12 years; 1 web of linen edging, half-inch wide; 1 do. $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inch wide, a good article; 3 pairs brown linen gloves for gentlemen, rather large; 1 pair black kid gloves, gentlemen's, rather large; 4 do. ladies' gloves; 2 pairs ladies' mitts for summer; 4 do. misses' mitts for girls 8 and 12 years old; 6 large bottomed chairs and one large and one small rocking chair, strong, boxed, ready to set up here; 2 pairs of silver set spectacles, suitable for my age; 1 hat for me, $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference on the outside around the band; 1 copy of the Comprehensive Commentary, if you have not forwarded it to me before this; 1 pair of brass candlesticks; 1 do. iron; 1 pair of snuffers and snuffer tray; 6 German silver dessert spoons, large; 2 boxes of vegetable shaving soap, put up in small white earthen boxes; 6 fine ivory combs; 1 ladies' parasol; 6 white linen pocket handkerchiefs; 4 silk pocket handkerchiefs, 4 black silk cravats for gentlemen, or 4 yards of good black silk for cravats; 8 yds. of figured white lace for ladies' caps; 1 bolt of good, fine, firm, red flannel; 20 yds. of drab colored cambric for facings of dresses; 1 boy's cap for winter, not fur, for boy four years old; 12 yds. brown holland, fine article; 15

yds. brown toweling; half pound good black sewing silk; 1 silk and 2 cotton umbrellas; 1 dozen spools of white sewing thread; 1½ dozen spools of colored thread; half pound of black linen sewing thread; 15 yds. good black cassimere for men's pantaloons; half ream good letter paper; 1 lb. alum; 1 good overcoat for me, rather large for yourself; 1 dress shawl, worsted, a good article; 4 pounds of Thompsonian composition,²¹⁴ and a quart of No. Six. We wish you to study economy in the purchase of these articles, yet we are quite sure that cheap sale articles, for instance shoes and boots, ready-made clothes, etc., are very unprofitable; they fall to pieces so soon. Sale shoes, for instance, in this dry climate often last but a few weeks and sometimes but a few days. The taste of people is fast changing and people are becoming extravagant in dress and we must be able to appear in all circles. You need no further explanations. I received no bill of the goods you sent us last and know nothing how your account stands with me. We want you to fill this bill and let us know how we stand. We feel that we cannot get along with anything short of what I have ordered, in our present condition, and, if this more than covers my salary, I must try and raise the funds here some way to meet it. Our necessary expenses and sacrifices to keep the institution in operation must keep us exhausted in means unless God by His gracious providence opens doors beyond our present knowledge. But we have commenced the work in faith and we trust we shall be sustained. We cannot go back. The work to us appears more and more important every month. We expect the labor of elevating its character will be great and the work will advance slowly and with great expense, but waiting will be disastrous to our reputation as a denomination of Christians in Oregon. We must have help in Oregon for this work!

Not a word from you in this mail, either to Br. Johnson

²¹⁴ This was a famous remedy of that time.

The formula seems to have been bayberry 2 lbs., ginger 1 lb., cayenne pepper 2 oz., cloves 2 oz. Horton Howard, *An Improved System of Botanic Medicine*, Columbus, 1832, p. 370.

or myself. Give us at least a male and female teacher before next spring, and a good, young minister for Astoria and vicinity; a man adapted to rise with the people and mold the mind of the people, both morally and religiously. This seems to me indispensable, if you will have the Baptist interest take deep root at the great commercial point in Oregon.²¹⁵

Yours with great respect.

EZRA FISHER.

Received Sept. 6, 1850.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Sept. 20, 1850.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

After a long delay I take my pen to write you a kind of a general epistle, a part of which must be virtually a recapitulation of some of my former letters. By Divine blessing my family and Brother Johnson's are all in tolerable health. I commenced the fall quarter of our school last Monday. We have now fifty scholars; probably we shall have an increase next week. My daughter still assists and we are yet compelled to have all the school in one room. The work on our school building progresses as fast as we could expect, in view of the present state of things in our country. We have the frame now erected, forty-two feet by twenty-two; two stories of ten and eleven feet, and a basement of wood eight feet in the clear. We shall be able in a few days to pay for the timber and work as far as we have gone, which will be about \$2000. Our financial affairs will then stand somewhat as follows: \$3000 on subscriptions in cash and building materials, town property as subscribed \$6700, which we estimate worth about \$2000 or \$2500.²¹⁶ It would seem by a glance at our subscription list that there

²¹⁵ The reason why the commercial metropolis of Oregon rose at Portland instead of Astoria is probably because of the long haul from Astoria to the more thickly settled parts of Oregon. It was cheaper to bring ocean ships to the head of navigation, Portland, than to make the longer haul overland to Astoria.

²¹⁶ The school building completed at so much sacrifice was not used as such for more than a few years after the period covered by these letters. It was finally torn down in the seventies. The proceeds of such property of the school as could be sold were given to McMinnville College. *Mattoon, Bab. An. of Ore.* 1:37.

are no serious embarrassments to our moving forward and completing so much of the house as will be imperiously called for the coming winter and painting the outside. But money is daily becoming more scarce with us and we see no reason to suppose it will become more plenty. Those who went to the mines last year and found gold so plentiful have spent their surplus funds and little improvements in agriculture or buildings have been made. Lumber has been in little demand in California, the markets there having been filled with eastern lumber. Collections must, therefore, go on slowly, yet labor and lumber and all kinds of building materials are higher here than they are even in California. We, however, hope to be able to enclose the house and finish two school rooms before the first of January. The superintending of the work must necessarily make some drafts upon both Br. Johnson's and my time. He has the superintending of the building and I have secured about three-fourths of the subscription. But a failure in this work would prove ruinous to the Baptist cause in the public estimation, so far as present appearances indicate. When we have proceeded so far as to have finished two school rooms, our entreaties for a teacher qualified to sustain the reputation of the first literary school in Oregon will know no denial. To me it seems that we shall be brought to a Thermopylæ. We have taken strong encouragement from your letters and reports that we shall not be disappointed and we have given publicity to our sanguine expectations. Our school also is increasing in numbers and improvements and will very soon call for the labors of two men in the higher department and a teacher in the primary department. This would be the case at this time, if we had a boarding-house connected with the school where students could board for four or five dollars per week; but at present board is from \$10 to \$12 per week, washings not included. We need to build a boarding-house and find some good eastern family to come and take charge of it, who would be satisfied with a steady increase

of property and a conviction of being instrumental of great good to Oregon and the world. Would to God that such a man could be found in some of our older churches who would be able and willing to enter into such an enterprise. Such a department, well filled, would, no doubt, open the way for scores every year to commence an education under the influence of the gospel. We ardently hope you will spare no ordinary efforts to secure us one teacher at least who will stand high in moral and literary attainments.

We have another subject nearly allied to this, to which I wish to call the attention of your Board, because I suppose it can be done better through that channel than any other now open. It is this: We now have several rising towns just beginning to spring up at points which will not fail to become important business places. The proprietors of these townsites and the citizens will spare no pains, and I had almost said means, to build a good school house and sustain a good teacher who will give promise of some permanency. Now, had we at this time, and from this time forward for four or five years at least, a few good Baptist teachers of leading minds, they might enter into a profitable business to themselves and be exceedingly useful to the cause of Christ and general education. Such an enterprise would no doubt lay the foundation for the establishment of Baptist churches in these towns at a very early period in the history of the towns. I know now of a place where a preacher who would consent to take a school might grow up with the people, and his family, if not large, would be easily sustained from the first. The people—men of enterprise—are solicitous on the subject. I could now name several such places on the Columbia and the Willamette below the head of tide water. Our Methodist brethren, ever awake to secure vantage ground, are now negotiating with the proprietors of Portland, twelve miles below this place, and will no doubt soon have there a school in operation belonging to the Methodist Church and built and sustained, so far as funds are concerned,

by the proprietors and citizens of Portland.²¹⁷ We can find employment at this time for more than a dozen good teachers in our territory, where they would be well paid and at the same time opening the way for fourfold that number more. As it respects our want of ministers, allow me to repeat the request with earnestness that your Board make an appointment for a minister to labor at Astoria, Pacific City and Clatsop Plains as soon as you can find a man who is suited to the place. The great commercial city for Oregon must rise at the mouth of the Columbia. This must be the key to the whole country. We have a fair proportion of Baptist members and adherents there, and I shall never rest when I think of this place till it is occupied. A Brother Newell,²¹⁸ formerly a teacher of music in N. Y. and Auburn, is in Pacific City and will probably take his family to that place. The Baptist interest is rising in Salem, the seat of the Methodist Institute, and a church will be constituted in a few weeks at that place.²¹⁹ I have referred your Board to this place on a former occasion. An efficient minister would soon find his support there, by your aid, in a few years. This is the best point in all the upper country from which to reach all points in the Willamette Valley. Another minister is wanted about as much on the west side of the river five miles above at a new town called Cincinnati.²²⁰ This place is in the bounds of the La Creole Church, formerly called Rick-re-All. Two ministers thus located would always be near each other to counsel and give aid and at the same time would each have a wide and rich field on each side of the river. Another minister is much needed on Tualatin Plains. This is the strongest church in the Ter. and would do their duty as they learned it. The immigrants to

²¹⁷ This was Portland Academy and Female Seminary. The building was completed in November, 1851, largely through the efforts of Rev. J. H. Wilbur. Wm. D. Fenton, *Father Wilbur and His Work*, *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* X:21.

²¹⁸ George P. Newell (1819-1886) was a native of England, but had lived in America some years before coming to Oregon in 1850. He was Government Surveyor and Inspector of Customs at Pacific City for three years, and was for fifteen years a deacon in the Oregon City Church. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* 1:72.

²¹⁹ See note 185.

²²⁰ The town was laid out by A. C. R. Shaw. The name is now Eola.—George H. Himes.

California are, many of them, turning their course to the Willamette Valley and others to the Puget Sound.²²¹ Immigrants are now daily arriving, and every vessel and steamer from California is bringing the disappointed miners; it is confidently expected that we shall have our population more than doubled before next April. Your Board will soon see the necessity of making special effort for Oregon, as well as California. I often feel almost worn out in the multiplicity of my labors, yet I have never felt more the importance of working while the lamp burns and throwing all over into the hands of the Lord than I have the past summer. God has wonderfully blessed my poor frail body with strength. We are now out of school books. Will you not induce some friend of youthful education in Oregon to raise some school books—Saunders' series, or Angel's, if better; Thompson's arithmetic; a few grammars and books of philosophy, history and astronomy, adapted to academies—and have them shipped? Could not a society of young men be formed in your city who will furnish us with books as we may order them, so that we might have time to sell them and refund the money, with profit enough to pay them for the labor? There are now no school books or singing books suited to teach church music in Oregon. Do think of us.

Respectfully and affectionately yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Nov. 14, 1850.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Oct. 1, 1850.

The Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. Home Miss. Soc.:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the second quarter (under the commission bearing date April 1, 1850) ending October 1st, 1850. I statedly supplied the station in this place

²²¹ The first American settlement in the Puget Sound country was in 1845. By 1850 there were possibly one hundred American citizens in that region; and trade had just begun in American bottoms. The Hudson Bay Company had, of course, some in some years before the Americans.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, pp. 2-17.

half of my time and the station at Milwaukie one Sabbath a month. Milwaukie is a rising village on the east bank of the Willamette near the head of ship navigation and six miles below this place.²²² I preached the remainder of the time in this place and vicinity. I have labored thirteen weeks in this quarter, preached 21 sermons, delivered no lectures except to my school and Sabbath school. Baptized none, obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge, have not organized any church, aided in no ordination. We established a weekly prayer meeting in this place about five weeks since; have attended all its meetings. Visited religiously twenty families and individuals, visited no common schools, traveled to and from my appointments 40 miles. No persons have been received by letter or by experience and I know of no person who has experienced a hope in Christ. No young men in our churches to whom I preach preparing for the ministry. Our sisters in this place have established a monthly concert of prayer for the cause of missions. My people have paid me during the quarter \$25 for my salary, but nothing for any missionary society. I have the superintendence of the Sabbath school in this church and conduct the Bible class except when absent. We have four teachers and about 25 children; library, about 150 volumes. My Bible class varies from four to eight or ten, mostly members of my day school. My day school embraces about fifty in an average attendance, but I have had 70 different scholars since the present quarter commenced, which has now been in progress three weeks. My daughter devotes most of her time as an assistant. Our prospects as a whole are far better for building up a permanent interest in this place and the whole Territory than at any period since we have been in Oregon.

Churches are beginning to feel the importance of liberating the ministry from secular labor and care.

I have secured a deed for four town lots in Portland for a

²²² Ocean-going ships stopped coming to Milwaukie about 1852.—George H. Himes.

Baptist church property.²²³ Since the first of January I have paid by way of establishing our school not far from \$300 in securing the site, \$50 to the erecting of a building on land, \$50 towards ceiling our meeting house and have \$100 more to meet on my subscription for our school building before next summer and have given no less than \$100 of time in soliciting subscriptions and collecting funds for our school building. I do not name this to boast of my liberality. But we have entered upon the work and there seems to be an imperious necessity laid on the few friends who have taken hold of it. The rainy season has commenced and our school building is not enclosed. We have therefore to fit up our meeting house for the winter. I wish you to send Mrs. Fisher the Mothers' Journal and pay for it from my salary. We are in great want of religious periodicals to circulate among the churches and our members. Numbers of them would gladly pay for them, if the proprietors would run the risk of conveyance of the money. But they seem unwilling to pay their money and forward it and not receive the papers. We could obviate this difficulty by ordering you to pay for the periodicals from our salaries, but our salaries in N. Y. are worth from 75 to 400 per cent more to us than the money is here, and, with the great expense of living here and the responsibilities in carrying on the work before us, we cannot make that sacrifice. We will get the subscribers, collect the money and forward it faithfully free of charge for our services. if the proprietors of the papers will allow us to forward it at their risk. We will also pay the per cent for transportation. We feel that after the preaching of the Word, our brethren cannot be profited so much in any other way by being led into the duties of the consistent Christian as through the medium of the Christian press.

Br. Mahlom Brock has subscribed and paid for the Moth-

²²³ The First Baptist Church of Portland was not organized until 1855. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* 1:14. Mattoon says that Rev. H. Johnson obtained the property for the church in 1850, and gives it as a half-block on the corner of Fourth and Alder Streets. *Ibid.* p. 140.

ers' Journal and the Home Mission Record²²⁴ and I could have numbers of other similar subscriptions, if I could insure the papers. If you think best to accede to the proposals made in this, write me at your earliest convenience. We wish to know if the proprietors of the New York Recorder and the Mothers' Journal will do the same. We wish you to be reminded anew that we are almost discouraged in relation to the hope of your furnishing us a suitable teacher by the opening of spring. God being my helper, I will try and sustain the school till you send us a suitable man to sustain at least a part of the responsibilities of our school. Then again we are entirely out of school books and there are none to be had in the country. Cannot you send us some? We will sell them so that we can refund the money with ten or 20 per cent, perhaps more.

Then we very much need preachers for the places I mentioned to you in the letter I forwarded to you by the last mail.

I have received no letter from you since the one you sent accompanying the commission of the first of April last.

All which is respectfully submitted in great haste.

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary at Oregon City.

Received Dec. 9, 1850.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Nov. 12, 1850.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill.

Dear Brother:

Yours under date of Sept. 4th, 7th, 9th, together with a letter from Rev. Geo. C. Chandler of Aug. 19, were received last mail and I now hasten to answer them in brief so as to have them leave by the next steamer. By Divine favor my health and that of my family have been unusually good through the season, notwithstanding the unusual amount of

²²⁴ "The Home Mission Record" was the official publication of the Baptist Home Mission Society and was first published in 1849. *Bap. Home Missions in N. Am. 1832-1882*, p. 541.

labor on my hands. We were much rejoiced to learn that you had succeeded in securing the services of our esteemed Br. Chandler for Oregon, but regret that he must be so long detained from the field so much needing his labors. We hoped confidently that I should have been relieved from at least a part of the responsibilities of the school before another summer opened upon us. But now, should our school prosper as the present signs seem to indicate and we should be able to complete our building and open a boarding house at moderate charge, we shall have more scholars than two men can faithfully teach, unless the common school system should go into effect in our city.²²⁵ Should this take effect, our school will be reduced in numbers, but not injured in character. We must aim at elevating the character of the school as fast as the demands of the people require it. We know nothing of Mr. Thurston's arrangements with teachers for Oregon City.²²⁶ We as a Board of Trustees for the Oregon City College have never thought of corresponding with any man or body of men to meet our demands but your Board. And we see no good reason at this time for changing our policy. We ardently trust that your Board will not let the appointment of Br. Chandler fail through any rumor you may hear from Boston or Washington. Should a good Baptist teacher reach Oregon and find himself disappointed in prospects, we should of course do what we could to introduce him to useful employment, but we have no thought of filling this vacancy with any other than the man of your appointment. The average number of our school this quarter is between 50 and 60 and we have had more than 80 different scholars since the quarter commenced. You will see by this that I have work enough for one man aside from my ministerial duties. We are obliged to suspend the work of our house for a few weeks in consequence of the sickness of Sis-

²²⁵ This refers to the efforts made in 1849 to establish a public school system in Oregon City. Rev. G. H. Atkinson was appointed school commissioner, but the system of free graded schools was deemed too expensive, and the "female seminary" was opened instead. Mrs. E. E. Dye, in Joseph Gaston, *Portland, Its History and Builders*, Portland, 1911; I:665.

²²⁶ See note 211.

ter Johnson, which has necessarily engrossed Br. Johnson's time and care for the last four weeks, but hope the work will soon be progressing. But the rainy season will not allow us to hope to be able to occupy the building till the opening of another spring. Our lumber is all green and it is becoming difficult to collect subscriptions fast.

The peculiar features of the Oregon land bill make it unsafe for us to leave the college claim unoccupied after the first day of next month.²²⁷ It therefore devolves upon me to move onto the claim. The erecting a temporary house claims some of my time, when it is much needed to forward the work of our school house, but we trust God will give us patience and strength to go through this part of the work. I trust you will make good use of Br. Chandler's time while in the old states in making him acquainted with the most efficient patrons of education and securing so much of public favor as will insure to our institution that kind of aid which must be derived from abroad.²²⁸ I mean books and necessary apparatus. School books at this time cannot be had in Oregon. This day four scholars were taken out of my school purely because no school books could be obtained in the country. And, unless we get books soon, similar cases will be no uncommon occurrence with us.

November 16.—Arrangements should be entered into immediately to keep our school supplied with school books, at least, without fail. I wrote you on this subject in my last. We should be kept constantly advised of the best systems of common school books and classical text books. I hope Br. Chandler will make the necessary arrangements with some book store or young men's association to meet our wants. I have written the Cor. Sec. A. B. Publication Society on the importance of supplying Oregon in part with religious read-

²²⁷ The organic act organizing Oregon Territory had made void all titles obtained under the laws of the provisional government. By the donation land law of 1850 a four-years' residence was required before title could be obtained to the lands granted under it. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:260-261.

²²⁸ Mr. Chandler originally came to Oregon to take charge of the school in Oregon City. Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:76. See also note 205.

ing. That Society has had a missionary agent in Oregon more²²⁹ than a year when money has been plenty and books scarce and almost everybody asking for religious books and the agent not a book to sell. And that too, when the agent could probably do ten times the amount of work for the country with his buggy of books by visiting and preaching and selling truth from house to house that he will unaided by this valuable auxiliary. I venture the opinion that no part of the union has opened a more inviting field for this work than this territory. In addition to this, we have not a church of our order in the country with half a supply of hymn books, and no note books.²³⁰ All this with a people who are every day becoming more and more conscious that their children must be put on an equality with the rising generation on the Atlantic coast. Our gold is fast going to build up eastern cities and enrich the old states and we shall be less able to patronize this cause than at this time and there will be greater difficulties in training the people to a spirit of enlarged benevolence. Could our colporter be furnished with such works as he might order it would be a source of great influence to every Baptist minister in Oregon, of incalculable benefit to fortify the public mind against error and afford a good profit to the Society. Please urge this matter upon the consideration of that Soc.'s Board. Immigration is rapidly coming in by land and by water.²³¹ It is now time for Christians to work. I hope your Board will appoint Br. Snelling as your missionary; it will do good, more so than a man of the same ability from the States. For explanation on this subject I refer you to Br. Johnson's letter. I should write to Br. Chandler, but I know not where to direct a letter at this time. If he comes with an ox team, let him have good, substantial oxen of 4, 5 and 6 years of age.²³² Horses will do if he gets good ones and comes in

²²⁹ This was Rev. Richmond Cheadle. See note 188.

²³⁰ The "note books" refer to books giving the music for the hymns.

²³¹ The immigration of 1850 amounted, so Bancroft says, to about eight thousand, *Hist. of Ore.* II:174.

This is four times the estimate of F. G. Young. See note 305. Young's estimate, however, probably refers only to those who came overland.

²³² Mr. Chandler finally came overland, but some of his goods came by sea. See letters of Sept. 3, and August 8, 1851.

the first train, which he should do by all means, and start as early as he can travel, and take along with him oats and corn to feed his team principally for the first month, before the grass starts much. Drive moderately at first, have plenty of teams so that two horses may travel behind the wagon, and exchange horses each alternate day, and work each pair of horses two days in succession. Let provisions be selected in proportion to the amount of nutrition they contain to the pound. Let him take dried fruit, dried beef and the fattest pork he can find without bone, well cured. Let him take nothing heavy, except clothing, and send his books by water, put up so that they will not get wet. Let him have good India rubber cloths to sleep on and under. Tell him to take special care of his team and, if he comes with horses, never let them go to hunt stray cattle, if he can avoid it and keep peace with the caravan. Tell him to be sure to cross at or near Council Bluffs and keep the north side of the Platte all the way and never touch the old road till he reaches the Sweet Water and he will save several days' travel and avoid all the bad water courses. I speak advisedly on this subject. If he comes with a horse team, he should have mares. He will need much grace, but if he does not take too much care and labor on himself the journey will be pleasant and healthy to himself and family. May God bless him and his and make them a lasting blessing to Oregon.

Yours affectionately,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Jan. 25, 1851.

Oregon City, Ore., Jan. 17, 1851.

To Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mis. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the quarter ending January 1st, 1851.

I have labored thirteen weeks in the quarter in the work

of the ministry, so far as I could in connection with my varied and urgent duties with our school, preached 20 sermons, delivered twelve lectures to our Sabbath school and Bible classes, attended 14 prayer and church meetings, visited religiously 15 families and other persons, weekly recommend the cause of Christ to my school, visited no common school, baptized none, obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge direct; no church organized, attended no ordination; traveled to and from my appointments 20 miles; no persons have been received by letter or experience; no hopeful conversions; no young men preparing for the ministry; monthly concert not observed as yet. My people have paid during the quarter nothing for any missionary or benevolent society; I have received ten dollars for my salary; our people have paid \$150 to ceil our meeting house, which is still our school room. Connected with the churches to which I preach are two Sabbath schools, one in this place under my charge having five teachers and 25 scholars, with a library of about 150 volumes; the other is a mixed school, about ten of the children from Baptist families and one or two of the teachers.

N. B.—I have not reported the number of the members received to the church in this place as Br. Johnson acts as moderator, is present at all our church meetings and has undoubtedly reported them. They shouldn't be reported twice. I have reported the state of our Sabbath school because this work rests on me. While I am necessarily employed as teacher and have the care of the school on my hands, I must confine my labors to this place and vicinity. I preach one Sabbath in four at Milwaukie where our prospects are flattering for building up a good church in the course of the coming year. We contemplate commencing our labors in Portland, a commercial town of 800 or 1000 souls, twelve miles below this, in a few months. Till Brother Chandler arrives it seems indispensable that Brother Johnson and myself make this place our residence. The cause of temperance is at this time on the ascendant in our city. We

are holding weekly meetings, with encouraging prospects. One of my scholars succeeded last week in obtaining about fifteen names of his fellow students to the pledge. Our sisters sustain a monthly prayer meeting.

The passage of the Oregon Land bill is operating temporarily against our school by calling some of our supporters with their families to leave town and settle on their land. Yet our school this quarter numbers about fifty and is increasing. We think we shall feel the effect of the bill still more through the coming summer, probably not longer. Our school building moves forward slowly. Money is constantly becoming more scarce and we find it hard collecting subscriptions, yet our motto is Onward. As soon as the days become a little longer and the traveling improved I intend, God granting, to take the subscription paper mornings and evenings and try what can be done by way of collecting and enlarging the subscriptions.

Perhaps we shall have to secure the labors of some person for two months in this work during the season. We have contracted for enclosing the house and that work is on the way and the house will be ready for painting as soon as the rainy season passes. We shall not be ready to occupy the house before June, perhaps Aug. or Sept. We trust we shall not fail of receiving a reinforcement in Br. Chandler, and we hope others. It is ruinous to abandon this work or even to suspend operations at this time. We could better do it after the house is completed. Should we suspend at this time, the public would say this people attempted to build and were not able, we should lose public confidence, consequently pecuniary aid, and our unfinished work would mock us. At present we are assured that we are securing public approbation. Our community is weekly increasing with an energetic, enterprising people, and the demand for ministerial labor this year will be triple that of last summer. I am in a strait betwixt the two, but I see no other way than to hold to the

school till relief comes, preach as much as I can and leave all with God. I moved to our College claim the 29th of Nov.

Yours in gospel bonds,

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary at Oregon City.

Received March 10, 1851.

On Margin:

N. B.—I have received no letter from you since the one under date of Sept. 4th and 7th informing me of Br. Chandler's appointment. I have answered them.

Oregon City, Feb. 17, 1851.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Yours under date Oct. 19th, Nov. 11th and Dec. 9th have all come to hand, together with duplicates of the invoice of goods and bills of lading of the same on board the bark Francis and Louisa. We hope they may arrive safe in the month of April, but I have taken my pen in haste, worn out with fatigue, to make another application to your Board for a re-appointment for one year. I will here insert a copy of the requests from the church in this place and from the Board of Trustees of the Oregon City College.

At the regular church meeting Feb. 1, 1851, voted to recommend Elder Ezra Fisher to the Board of the A. B. H. Mission Socy. for re-appointment to labor in this place and vicinity for the term of one year.

F. A. COLLARD,²³³

Clerk.

HEZEKIAH JOHNSON,

Mod.

Oregon City, Feb. 6th, 1851.

This is to certify that at a meeting of the Trustees of the Oregon City College held at the Baptist meeting house in said city on the day and year first aforesaid, it was agreed to recommend to the Board of the A. B. H. Mission Soc. Elder

²³³ F. A. Collard came to Oregon in 1847. He later served three terms in the legislature. *Hist. of Willamette Valley*, p. 669.

Ezra Fisher as their missionary in Oregon for the term of one year from the first day of April next.

W. T. MATLOCK,²³⁴

Secretary.

E. FISHER,

Chairman.

My labors will be one fourth of the time in this city, probably one fourth of the time at Linn City on the opposite side of the river from this city, one fourth of the time at Milwaukie, at the request of brethren there, and part of the time at Portland. It seemed to me desirable that Br. Johnson should continue his labors in this place the coming year. I therefore moved his call to the pastoral care of our little church. I shall find all the labor I can possibly perform with my school on my hands. We are advancing slowly with our school house. It is a hard time to collect, and almost all our men are going to the mines this spring. Very extravagant reports come from the Klamath mines, pretty well authenticated, of very rich mines of gold on the waters of that stream.²³⁵ Probably two thirds of the men in the territory will go for gold during the spring, if we receive no counter reports. At present the whole community is in a high state of excitement. We think things will become settled within a few months and hope the farming community will return permanently to their farms. We shall do all we can, in connection with all our other cares, this spring and the ensuing summer to carry the work (of building) forward and hope to have two rooms ready for occupancy before the arrival of Brs. Chandler and Read. Our school has already suffered the loss of several of the young men from the gold excitement, and more will go to the mines. Yet they will probably return in the fall, at least a part of them. Labor will be extravagantly high the coming season and lumber will be scarce. We dare not oppose the providences of God

²³⁴ W. T. Matlock was several times a member of the territorial legislature. He was a delegate to the first Republican state convention, and was at one time receiver of the U. S. Land Office. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:72, 143, 158, 296, 418, 458.

²³⁵ Gold was first found in the tributaries of the Klamath in the spring of 1850. In July discoveries were made on the main Klamath. Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:185.

in this new excitement and we think we can better calculate on results than when the mines were first discovered in California. Our men will not leave our Territory. Immigration is constantly pouring in upon us. The mining is to be done in our own territory and in six or eight months our valley will be thronged with immortal beings. Gold will either be plentiful or labor will be comparatively cheap. The world's wickedness will be thrown upon us. How much we need strong faith and warm hearts to meet and conquer the enemy by love!

Our school numbers about fifty this term. When our reinforcement arrives we hope to make such a disposition of the labor as will most glorify God. Brother Johnson and myself have concluded to order the Home Mission Record as fast as we obtain subscribers and pay for the paper out of our salary at N. Y. till it amounts to five dollars each, and that will be as much as will meet the wants of our brethren in Oregon the present season probably. We would gladly do ten fold that amount, if we were able, but our family expenses are great and we are economizing to the extent of our abilities to meet the claims of our schools and secure public confidence. I trust God will carry us through and bless the efforts.

I herein send you the names of Mahlom Brock, Oregon City Post Office, and J. D. Garrett and Hector Campbell, Milwaukie Post Office, as subscribers for the Home Mission Record. Please forward them to said offices.

Give my sincere thanks to Dr. Williams²³⁶ for constituting me a life member of your Society. I am altogether unworthy the honor of that distinguished servant of Christ. The Lord multiply his means and enlarge his liberality to this great Christian enterprise. My personal thanks to Dr.

²³⁶ This was probably Rev. William R. Williams, at that time pastor of the Amity Street Baptist Church of New York City. *An. Encyc.* XVI;641.

A person could be made a life member of the Home Mission Society by the payment of \$30.00.—*Bap. Home Missions in N. Am. 1832-1882*, p. 350.

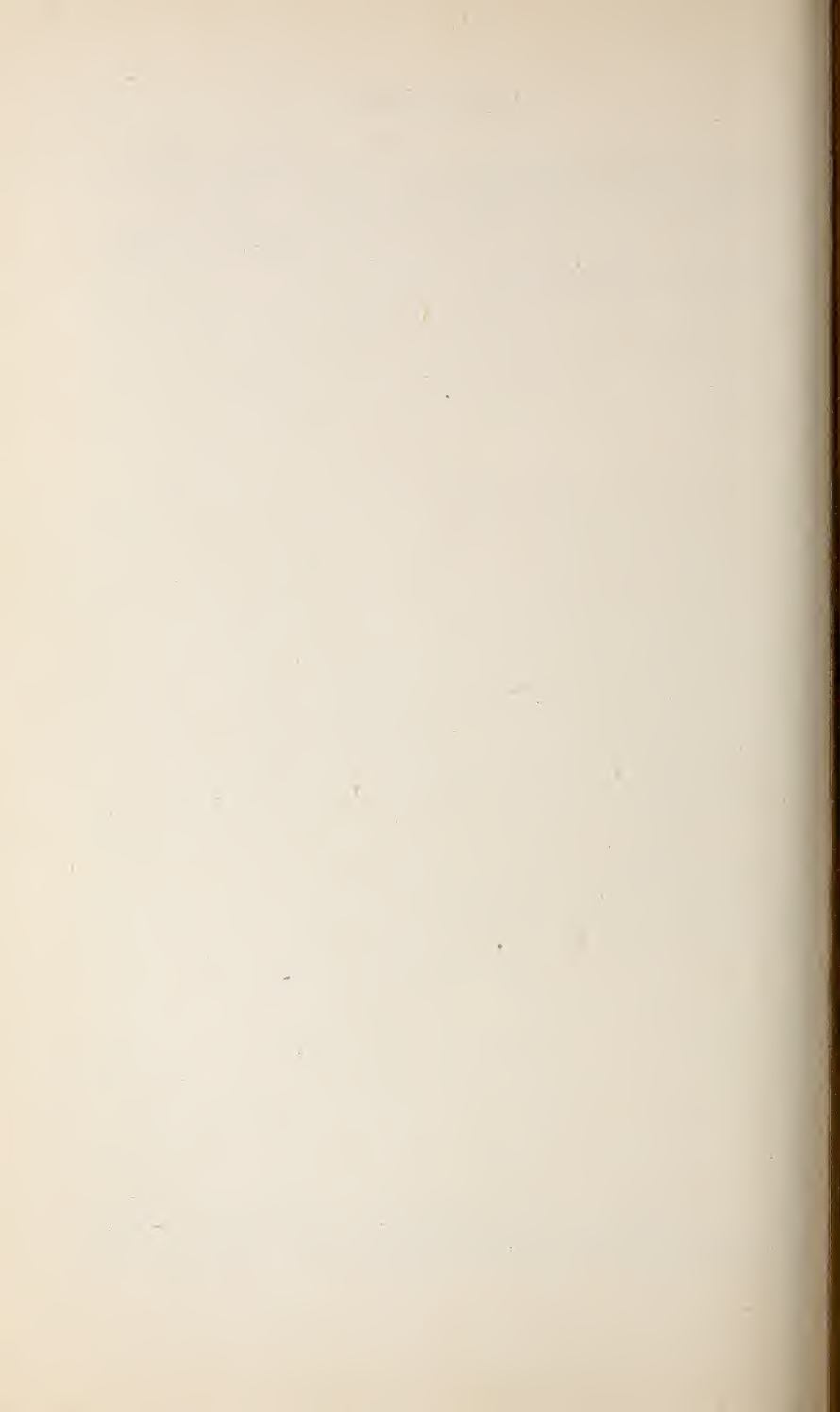
Cone²³⁷ for the donation to our College library. When the books arrive, the Board will take action on the subject.

Yours with esteem,

EZRA FISHER.

Received April 21, 1851.

²³⁷ This was Rev. Spencer Houghton Cone, D. D. (1785-1855). He was a leading member of the Baptist denomination at this time, and pastor of the First Baptist Church of New York City.—Am. Encyc., V. 220.



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VOLUME XVII DECEMBER, 1916 NUMBER 4

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THE OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 17, 1898

[illegible]

DIRECTORS

THE GOVERNOR OF OREGON, *ex officio*.
THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *ex officio*.

Term expires at Annual Meeting in December, 1916.

Term expires at Annual Meeting in December, 1917.
CHARLES H. CAREY, WILLIAM D. FENTON.

Term expires at Annual Meeting in December, 1918.
CHARLES B. MOORES.

Term expires at Annual Meeting in December, 1919.

The fee for life membership is twenty-five dollars. The annual dues are two dollars. Contributions to *The Quarterly* and correspondence relative to historical materials, or pertaining to the affairs of this Society, should be addressed to

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Secretary,

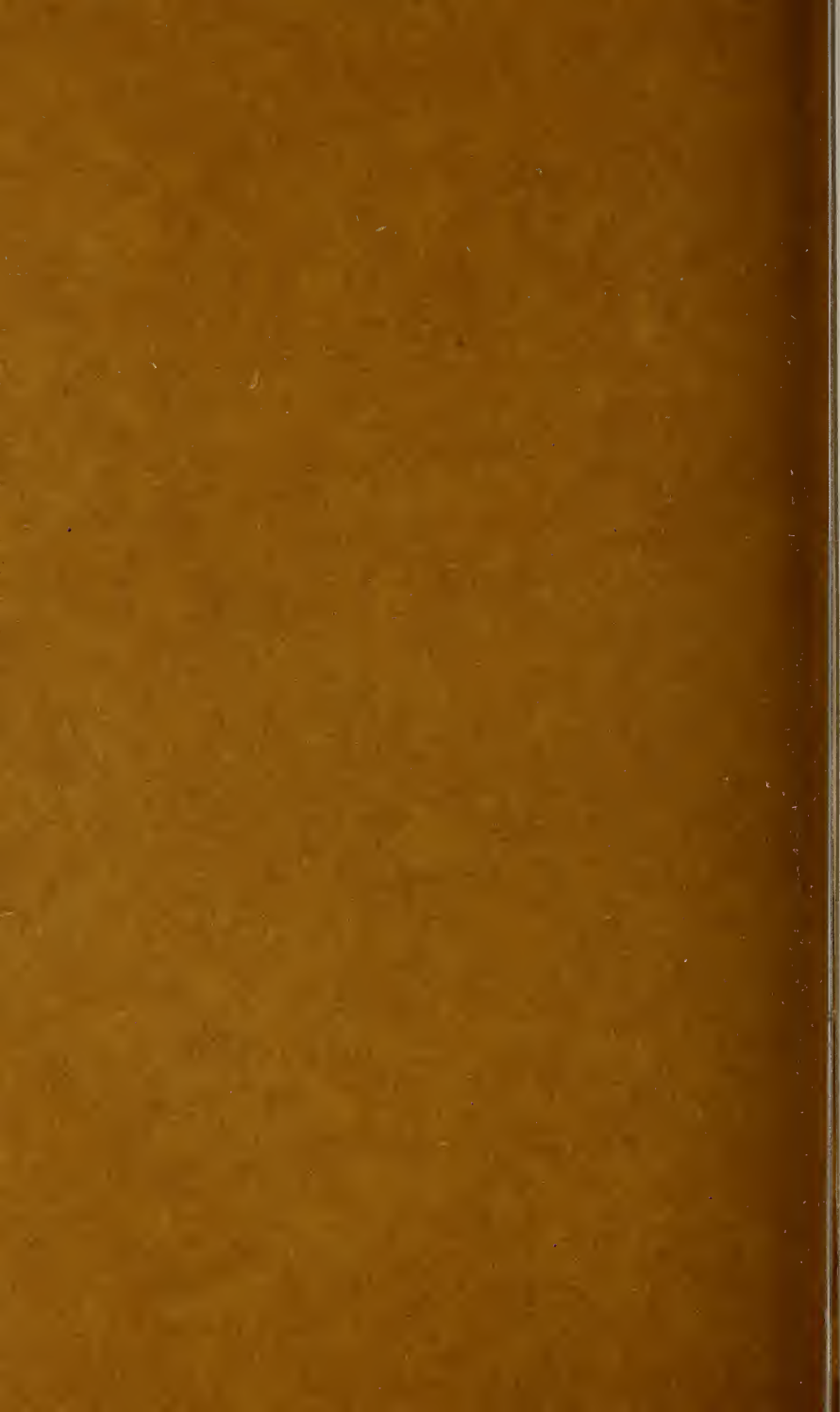
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Subscriptions for *The Quarterly*, or for the other publications of the Society, should be sent to

GEORGE H. HIMES,

Curator and Assistant Secretary,

205-207 Second Street, Portland, Oregon.



THE QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society

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THE KLAMATH EXPLORING EXPEDITION, 1850

SETTLEMENT OF THE UMPQUA VALLEY—ITS OUTCOME.

By SOCRATES SCHOLFIELD.

Upon the discovery of gold in the beds of the streams and in the mountains of California, it was reasonably expected that rich deposits would also be found in the beds of some of the many unexplored streams and in the mountains of the contiguous Territory of Oregon. And acting upon such suggestion of probability, Messrs. Herman Winchester, Caspar Thomas Hopkins, Horace J. Paine, Galen Burdett and Eldridge G. Hall, citizens of San Francisco, originated a joint stock company, the stock of which consisted of one hundred shares of one hundred dollars each, which was soon taken up. The objects of the company were to explore and make settlements on what was supposed to be the Klamath river, but which being wrongly laid down on the map was in reality Rogue river, the location of the mouth of the Klamath river being then unknown.

In pursuance of their object they designed to ascertain the agricultural, commercial and mineral resources of the country; to survey the harbor at the mouth of the river, and to lay out a town site, to ascertain how far the river was navigable; to survey and lay out a town at the head of navigation if a suitable location was found and the resources of the river and valley

were deemed favorable; to explore the upper waters and the tributaries, and prospect for gold. With these objects in view, the schooner William Roberts, Captain Lyman, was chartered by the company, and manned by a crew of twelve seamen, and accompanied by twenty-two adventurers, members of the company. They sailed from San Francisco on Saturday, the 5th day of July, 1850, and after getting out of the harbor it was discovered that the vessel leaked badly, so much so that it was deemed necessary to put back and repair. The schooner was therefore taken back into the harbor and to Sausalito, which was about six miles below San Francisco, on the opposite shore, where after examination the leak was discovered and stopped, and the sand ballast was exchanged for stone, which detained the vessel until Monday, the 7th, when they again put to sea. In consequence of head winds which are constantly from the northwest at this season of the year, their passage up the coast was very slow, requiring fourteen days to make the mouth of Rogue river, which they supposed to be the mouth of the Klamath. During the passage a meeting was held by the company, and it was decided that in consequence of the known hostile character of the Indians their operations should proceed on military principles, being fully persuaded that it would require the most efficient organization and vigilance to enable them to pass through the country with safety; this region having heretofore been a neglected portion of the Territory, and one where little or no effort had been made toward modifying the war-like characteristics of the Indians. For the purpose of exploration it was proposed that the schooner should be taken as far up the river as it could be navigated with safety, and that the party should proceed thence in whaleboats, three of which were provided for that purpose. Mr. Herman Winchester was chosen captain with the power to appoint subordinates. He appointed three lieutenants, one for each boat, viz.: C. T. Hopkins, first lieutenant; Dr. H. J. Paine, second lieutenant; and Rufus Coffin, third lieutenant. An engineer was also appointed for each boat,

viz.: Nathan Scholfield, R. W. Larrett, and E. Fletcher. The boats were then to be manned as follows: For boat No. 1, H. Winchester, captain; R. Coffin, lieutenant; N. Scholfield, engineer; and C. S. Eigenbrodt, A. A. Brinsmade, P. Flanagan and W. E. Evans. For boat No. 2, C. T. Hopkins, 1st lieutenant commandant; R. W. Larrett, engineer; Dr. H. H. Beals, A. Davies, I. T. Turney, W. E. Broadbent, R. S. Philpot, Dr. J. W. Drew and Charles McDowell. For boat No. 3, Dr. H. J. Payne, second lieutenant commandant; E. Fletcher, engineer, S. E. Smith, Dr. E. R. Fiske, Welbert W. Stevens, C. Leinfelder, I. Magrannary, and C. T. Ward. It was also arranged that Capt. Lyman with part of his crew, consisting of Mr. Peter Mackie, 1st mate; Charles Moore, 2nd mate; Charles Brown, J. Anderson, I. M. Dodge and James Cook, should remain on board of the schooner at all times to protect her during the absence of the party. They first made the Oregon coast at Cape Orford on the morning of Sunday, July 21st, and by a free northwest wind they sailed down the coast, when at about six miles from the cape several fires were lighted simultaneously on the approach of the schooner in the vicinity. These fires were supposed to be signals from the Indians on shore to other distant members of their tribe as a notification of the approach of a vessel. A boat was lowered here with a crew to examine the shore for locating the entrance of the river. They soon returned, however, reporting no river, but a village of several Indian houses on the shore. Capt. Rufus Coffin, the only person on board who had ever seen the mouth of the river and who acted as pilot, did not distinctly recollect its locality. Upon sailing further down the coast he was soon able to identify it, but being impressed with the conviction that it was very difficult and even dangerous to attempt its entrance except at the most favorable time of tide, especially with the strong wind which prevailed, a whaleboat was dispatched in charge of Mr. Mackie, the first mate and four sailors, in order to examine the entrance and determine the state of the tide, while the schooner was lying off and on. In

passing the bar the ebb tide meeting the swell of the sea, caused a heavy breaker which capsized the boat, and for a moment the boat and men seemed swallowed up by the waves; but after a time by means of spy-glasses three of the men were seen on the beach with the Indians. They were only recognized by their dress, the Indians being entirely naked. Another boat with a crew duly armed with weapons was immediately sent off to render them assistance, if possible, but on arriving in the vicinity of the bar they considered it too hazardous to attempt crossing. They saw two of the crew of the other boat standing with the Indians—apparently having their hands tied—and considering that there was no safety in attempting to render assistance, they with some difficulty in consequence of the high wind returned to the schooner. After they had made their report it was at once decided to put the schooner over the bar and enter the river at all hazards in order to rescue the men who were in the hands of the Indians. And as the evening was approaching, everything required haste, every man armed himself with his weapons and the vessel was put to the wind, and during the most intense excitement and apprehension of all on board, she soon approached and plunged into the breakers as they broke on the bar, and in a few moments was safely through and in smooth water within the harbor, when an exultant shout went up from all on board, although their rejoicing was repressed by their apprehensions for the fate of those on shore. After getting fairly within the harbor and at anchor, a numerous party of Indians was observed on shore, mostly naked, and three of the five men who were wrecked were seen among them. The boats were immediately lowered and were being manned by a sufficient number of armed men to rescue their companions, when the Indians, seeing this preparation, brought their captives off to the vessel in canoes, and gave them up, having previously robbed them of all the articles they had about their persons, and taken all their clothing excepting their shirts and pantaloons. From these returned men it was learned that the other two of the boat's

crew had been drowned. About twenty of the Indians came off to the schooner and were kindly received, and well treated by the crew, but were not allowed to come on board, but only to remain in their canoes alongside. Several persons went on shore from the vessel and explored the beach in order to discover the bodies of those who were lost, but they could not be found, although fragments of the boat were seen strewn along the beach. Mr. Peter Mackie, the first mate, one of the persons saved, was seriously injured by bruises received while in the surf, from which he was taken by the Indians in an exhausted condition. He was then stripped by them to a cotton shirt and trousers, and his watch and other articles taken from him. After coming on board the vessel, he was immediately removed to his berth and properly attended to, and in four or five days was so far recovered as to be able to attend to his duties on the vessel. On the next day, Monday, a party of nine were dispatched with a whaleboat to take soundings and make a partial survey and exploration of the river, preparatory to sending up the vessel. The party consisted of Captain Winchester, Lieutenant Hopkins, Mr. N. Scholfield, engineer, Mr. Farrell, Mr. Eigenbrodt, Dr. Fiske, Mr. Brinsmade, Mr. McDowell and one other person, while the other members of the party remained to take care of the vessel and survey the harbor. After proceeding up the river about three or four miles, they encountered rapids and shoals, which would effectually prevent the vessel from ascending beyond that point. An Indian house was seen just below the rapids, and four Indians with their canoes, and on passing up the river for about a half a mile further they came to a village of some half a dozen houses, near which the party landed. Several Indians appeared on the bank above, armed with their bows and arrows and knives. The Indians from below had accompanied the party to this place and were very troublesome on account of their thieving propensities, as they would take anything they could lay their hands on and secrete.

Continuing up the river, they came to a high mountain

mostly destitute of trees, about eight miles from the mouth of the river; this they named Mount Winchester, and a little further on was another mountain peak in a continuation of the same ridge. This latter peak the party ascended and named Eigenbrodt's Peak. From this peak a fine view of the river below and of the ocean was obtained, and the course of the river above through the coast range was approximately determined. After descending the mountain the party took to the boat and returned to the vessel, arriving just after sunset, and in time to assist in the ceremony of burying one of the drowned sailors, whose body had been found by the Indians and brought in, having been washed ashore some miles below the mouth of the river.

On the following day two whaleboats were manned by nine persons each, to ascend the river and continue the exploration. They started about seven o'clock in the morning with provisions sufficient for one week, and were followed by twelve or fourteen Indians in canoes. Just below the first rapids there was an island of two or three acres in extent, covered with water in times of freshets, with the exception of a high rocky bluff at the upper end. On this bluff, which was about 60 feet high, and consisted of basaltic rock, they cut with a chisel the date, 1850. The tide water sets up to this place, and to the rapids above. The Indians assisted the parties in getting their boats up the rapids, which occurred very frequently, and some of which were very difficult to pass. Recompense was made to the Indians for their assistance by presents of beads or other trinkets, and whenever the boats stopped in their passage up the river, the Indians would press around and steal everything they could lay their hands on, even taking articles out of the pockets of the members of the party with an adroitness that would do credit to and even leave professional pickpockets of civilization in the shade. Almost every one had something taken from him in this way. The party took the chief and two other Indians on board the boats to accompany them and act as guides. As they

proceeded up the river they passed a village consisting of eight houses, and here the Indians they had employed as guides left them, but joined them again about three miles above, with the addition of about a dozen more to the party. As they proceeded up the river the rapids increased in difficulty and frequency, and after progressing to a point about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, the further prosecution of the exploration was abandoned. The members of the party were well fagged out and most of them wet to the skin, as they had frequently to leave the boats and take to wading; the river banks being in many places too steep and precipitous to afford a passage on shore, and the Indians had already greatly increased in numbers, and were likely to still further increase, so that in the judgment of some of the party it would be dangerous for them to encamp. The exploring party in their progress up the river had occasionally prospected on the bars for indications of gold; but none was found.

When the Indians found that the party was about to return they tried to persuade them to go on; they informed them by signs that there were plenty of deer up the river; this they did by placing their hands in place of horns at the side of their heads and pointing up the river. They appeared very much disappointed when they found that the party persisted in returning. The start down the river was made about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Indians soon following. When the party came to the first village below, they stopped to trade with the Indians, but found that nearly all of them were absent. The party found here an iron chain of about one hundred pounds weight, the bobstay of some vessel. This was supposed to have been taken from the schooner Hackstaff, which was wrecked at or near the mouth of the river some time before. This chain was purchased for a handkerchief and a small piece of calico, but while the trade was being made with one Indian, another Indian had the adroitness to pick the pocket of the purchaser of another handkerchief and a memorandum book. One of the party had a hole torn

through his flannel shirt by an Indian to get at articles carried at his breast inside of the shirt. To one of the Indians who had accompanied the party and appeared to be more reliable and friendly than the others, many presents had been given. He was presented with a good suit of clothes, with which he was much pleased, and on the return to the vessel the same evening he was allowed to stay on board, and in the morning while the party were at breakfast, the Indian being in the cabin, was observed to take a bowie knife from one of the berths and secrete it in his clothes. He was in consequence immediately hustled out and sent on shore. It was thus proved to those most charitably disposed to the Indians that no confidence whatever could be placed in any of them, and after this the Indians were only allowed to come to the vessel at evening for the purpose of trade. On the following day the party were employed in taking soundings in the harbor and surveying locations for a townsite consisting of half a square mile located on each side of the river.

The explorations thus far had proved unsatisfactory in relation to the river, and in regard to the development of the country in the interior, the river having proved to be smaller and more difficult of access than the explorers had a right to anticipate from its representation on the maps, and by travelers who had crossed the Klamath and Rogue rivers in the interior, and had represented each of these streams some sixty or one hundred miles in the interior as being as large or larger than this river proved to be near its mouth; and moreover this river was found by the surveyed courses taken to run from a direction averaging northeast by east, as far as the exploration extended, instead of from a southeasterly direction, as universally represented on the maps; it was therefore concluded that their explorations should be extended up and down the coast, hoping to find some larger river in the vicinity. For this purpose Lieutenants Hopkins and Payne, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Eigenbrodt, Dr. Fiske, Dr. Drew and three others were dispatched down the coast. They started on

Friday, the 26th, designing to be absent two days. They proceeded down the coast, frequently toiling over high hills and mountains, crossing deep ravines, and encamped at an estimated distance of about 20 miles from the place of starting. On their way down they passed a creek beyond which, farther south, the country was mountainous with projecting cliffs on the shore and difficult to traverse. They therefore returned on the second day much fatigued with their journey.

At this same time another party was dispatched to survey and explore the coast north of the river. This party consisted of Mr. N. Scholfield, Mr. Larrett, Mr. Helbert, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dodge, Mr. Flanagan, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Pierce, Mr. N. Scholfield having been appointed to take charge of the expedition. They took two days' provisions and a full complement of weapons, having, as they were fully aware, to pass through the very stronghold of the Indians, if they should travel up to and around Cape Blanco, as they proposed. They started on their journey on the morning of Saturday, and after getting under way it was found that fifteen or twenty Indians were following and going in company with them. It was suggested by some of the party that the Indians should be sent back or driven off; but it was finally considered that if this course should be taken, they would still go on in some other direction, and arrive at the Indian settlements above as soon as the party, and perhaps be more troublesome by exciting the other Indians against them than if allowed to go on.

The path to be pursued by the party as pointed out by the Indians (two of whom were selected as guides), was generally on the beach, but occasionally rising on the table land above at an elevation of from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet, which necessitated climbing up some steep ascents at places where the passage on the beach was obstructed by rock. After traveling in this way about four miles, a portion of the party, thinking to take a shorter and more direct route than that of the tortuous travel of the Indians along the beach, and disregarding the directions of the Indian guides and the

earnest protestations of Mr. Scholfield, struck off from the path, leaving Mr. Scholfield and Mr. Helbert, accompanied by most of the Indians, to pursue the trail along the beach. It was supposed, however, that the parties would come together again before they had gone very far, but it so turned out that in consequence of the separation Mr. Scholfield and Mr. Helbert arrived at the Indian villages in advance of the other party. In their passage up the beach the accompanying Indians received straggling accessions to their number, and at a distance of about eight miles from the vessel they came to two or three Indian houses, from which the Indians came with their weapons and joined the others. Mr. Scholfield in dealing with the Indians made a practice of shaking hands with them as they approached, and treated them very politely. Soon after passing these houses they came in view of another village, and on their approach the Indians came out armed with their bows and arrows, hatchets and rifles, and seated themselves in a row waiting for the approach of the party. Mr. Scholfield advised Mr. Helbert, his companion, who wished to return without going farther, to show no fear but to go boldly on. And as they came up to the Indians Mr. Scholfield saluted their chiefs, and shaking by the hand such of the Indians as seemed of sufficient importance to require such civility, passed on, but was strongly pressed by the Indians to stop and sit with them. One of these Indians tried to get possession of the spyglass held in the hand of Mr. Scholfield, but did not succeed, and after going a little distance further they stopped by the side of a large log which was lying on the beach, being somewhat fatigued and hungry. The Indians pressed hard around them, so that it was very difficult to keep them off. They had now increased in numbers to near one hundred. One of them stole the hatchet that Mr. Scholfield carried in his boot leg, but was discovered by Mr. Scholfield in season to recover it. Being importuned by the Indians, Mr. Scholfield gave them some of his provisions, consisting of cold ham, hard bread and soft biscuit. The ham and hard bread they

would not eat, but the soft biscuit they appeared to relish. Before Mr. Scholfield and his companion got ready to move on, Mr. Scholfield discovered that the Indians had stolen his hatchet the second time, and that they had also stolen the knife of his companion from its sheath, and just before this he had detected one of the Indians coming up behind him with his knife to cut the strap which bound his blankets to his back, the Indian in his attempt having nearly severed it. Seeing that matters had come to such a pass, Mr. Scholfield demanded that his hatchet be given up. This he did by signs which the Indians readily understood, but the hatchet was not forthcoming. He then drew his revolver and instituted a search for the hatchet, demanding that all who had any skins or dress of any kind, by means of which it could be secreted, to take them off and exhibit them. This the Indians, although armed with bows and arrows, knives, rifles, etc., submitted to, although in some cases reluctantly; but the hatchet could not be found. It had probably been buried in the sand, or the thief had run off with his booty. Mr. Helbert was filled with fear and consternation during this procedure. He had a long beard, and the Indians further down the coast had told him that if he came up here he would have his beard pulled out. He was therefore fearful that when Mr. Scholfield demanded an exposé of the garments of the Indians, that he was going much too far, but he was satisfied afterwards that it was the only thing that saved them both from probable plunder and massacre, as the Indians after this experience kept at a more respectful distance. Mr. Helbert urged Mr. Scholfield strongly to return from this point, but Mr. Scholfield, wishing to go as near to the cape as possible to ascertain whether a river entered the ocean at or near that locality, was determined to press forward to accomplish that object. They therefore went on, and soon came to another village of six or eight houses, the inmates of which came out as before with their weapons, and seated themselves in a row on the ground. Mr. Scholfield and his companion walked up to the Indians, saluting them in a friendly manner and shaking hands with

the most conspicuous of their number. They were pressed by the Indians to stop and sit down with them, but the Indians looked to them as too savage for pleasant society. One of them was armed with a hand saw, and one of the most savage-looking Indians they had seen was armed with a stone hammer that had done hard service. Mr. Scholfield and his companion concluded that under present circumstances it was not best to go much farther, especially as they could see another Indian village near the cape, and many Indians upon the hills above; they therefore, being much fatigued, concluded to go a little distance to a log on the beach, and sit down to rest, preparatory to their return to the vessel, they having gone far enough to satisfy themselves that no river of any considerable size emptied into the ocean south of the cape, which was only about a mile farther on. The Indians who had followed them thus far now left, stopping, however, at the village last passed, apparently holding a consultation. Mr. Scholfield and Mr. Helbert had not been seated long before two Indians from up the coast came along, one of whom brandished his knife of about eighteen inches in length before them, and motioned them to go back. Mr. Scholfield showed him his revolver, and motioned him to be easy and sit down with them, as after first resting themselves they were intending to go back. The Indian then sat down at one end of the log and watched their movements. After a short time they buckled on their knapsacks and started to return, not, however, without greeting their last Indian comrade with a parting shake of the hand.

On returning Mr. Helbert wished to go close by the shore on the beach in passing the place where the Indians were assembled, and so give them a wide berth, but he was told by Mr. Scholfield that their safety depended on showing a bold front and going boldly up to them without showing any signs of fear. They therefore passed in the immediate vicinity of the Indians, deviating considerably from their proper course to do so, and as they went on Mr. Scholfield touched

his cap in the most polite manner he was capable of to the chiefs, and as they went on they were soon joined by some twenty of the Indians, among whom was the interesting looking Indian with the stone hammer, and this hammer gave Mr. Scholfield and his companion more uneasiness than any weapon they had seen in the hands of the Indians, and they watched its possessor with more than ordinary care. After proceeding about a mile on their return they were much relieved by seeing the other six of the party coming up the beach, and on their approach most of the Indians left and returned to the village. After consultation it was decided to be unsafe to proceed on the contemplated tour, inasmuch as it would be dangerous for them to encamp over night, as it was probable that from one to two hundred Indians would follow them, or lie in ambush at some difficult pass. They therefore concluded to give up further exploration and return to the vessel, but in order to do this it was considered more safe to travel back on the table land, rather than on the beach, as the Indians by following in the heights could send their arrows down upon them without being detected. They therefore concluded to go past the village where the Indians were congregated as though they were going up the coast, and after mounting the hill to the table land above, then change their direction toward the vessel. As they passed the village, the Indians came out and arranged themselves in a row, or rather in the segment of a circle on their knees, with their bows and arrows and other weapons ready for use. The party saluted the Indians in a friendly manner, and went on a short distance to a trail of steep ascent leading to the heights above, to which they clambered with some difficulty, and while going up the trail one of the party, Mr. Pierce, in looking back, saw the chief with his bow drawn and his arrow directed at Mr. Scholfield, and apparently on the point of letting it go, but being thus discovered in the act, he lowered his bow. A moment afterward on looking back again, Mr. Pierce observed the same Indian with his bow drawn as before, but being detected he desisted

from his attempt, and as he was thereafter closely watched, the attempt was not renewed, and the party arrived safely at the top of the bluff. As they passed the village about a dozen Indians ran up the beach toward the upper villages, probably to inform the other Indians of the approach of the party, and when the party commenced rising the hill about the same number ran up the hill some fifty rods ahead, apparently with the view to head them off or notify other Indians on the hills above. After the party had arrived at the top of the bluff, and commenced their homeward march, they were joined by some of the Indians who had previously accompanied them up the beach. These Indians, with the exception of two, who were retained as guides, were sent away. These guides were armed, one with a rifle and the other with a sheath knife. The party was careful to keep the guides in front, where they could be watched, and kept a good lookout at the rear and on their flanks expecting an attack. They, however, arrived safely at the vessel without molestation.

After having spent a week in exploration without obtaining satisfactory results, it was decided to proceed further up the coast to the Umpqua river, and see what discoveries could be made at that locality, but in consequence of head winds, which occurred at time of high water, which was the only time the vessel could leave the harbor, they remained two days longer, or until Thursday, the 30th of July, when they left the harbor with a favorable but light wind, and passing up the coast, they arrived opposite the entrance of the Umpqua river on Thursday, the 1st of August, and stood off and on, waiting for a favorable time to send out one of the boats to examine the bar and entrance to river previous to taking in the vessel. On the 2nd, seven Indians came off in a canoe, to whom the party distributed some presents and employed two of the Indians to act as pilots in taking one of the boats over the bar, for the purpose of taking soundings and examining the harbor. The crew of the boat consisted of eight persons, six of whom, after landing, remained on shore, while the other

two came back in a canoe with the Indians and reported a favorable entrance with three fathoms of water on the bar, and five or six fathoms within, and good anchorage, and that three Oregonians from the Elk river settlement—Capt. Scott, Mr. Butler and Mr. Sloane—had just come down the river in canoes to ascertain whether the river could be rendered available as a channel of communication to the ocean from the interior, and whether a suitable harbor existed at its mouth for commercial purposes. The Indians who came out to the vessel in their canoes were a much better-looking race than those living on the river and the coast they had just left. They were all dressed and appeared to have a more respectable bearing, and as they did not display a propensity to steal they were suffered to come on board the vessel freely, and did not at any time betray the confidence reposed in them.

A calm occurring at this time, the vessel remained outside the bar until Sunday morning, the 4th of August, when the wind and tide being favorable, the vessel entered the harbor and came to anchor in five fathoms of water. The three Oregonians who were on shore imparted to the party much valuable information; and the following day was spent in surveying the harbor. And, finding its aspects in all respects favorable, the party proceeded to survey town locations on both sides of the bay, naming the town on the east side Umpqua City (down stream from the present townsite of Reedsport), and that on the west side West Umpqua. On Tuesday, the 6th, they took the vessel up the river, preceded by a whaleboat employed for taking soundings and to lead the way, and after sailing up the river about fifteen miles, the tide having fallen, the vessel grounded on a bar near a small island, which they called Echo island; and here they remained until the next morning. During the night some of the party having indulged rather freely in brandy, the quantity which remained was thrown overboard by the owner. This shoal was called Brandy Bar. On the following day the vessel was taken to the head of navigation, about twenty miles from the entrance to the

river. At this place Capt. Scott and Mr. Sloane had each taken up donation claims, on the only available land for a townsite, but arrangements were entered into by which the company obtained a location extending nearly one mile on the river, which in honor of Capt. Scott, who had done much toward exploring the Umpqua valley and developing its resources, they named Scottsburg. Here they obtained a supply of salmon from the Indians, and proceeded the next day on foot to Fort Umpqua, situated on the south bank of the Umpqua near the junction of Elk river, and about fifteen miles from Scottsburg. At Fort Umpqua they were kindly received by Mr. Gagnier, agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, who, with his Indian wife and family, lived in the fort. Mr. Gagnier was a French-Canadian, and had been in the employ of the company at this fort more than twenty years. At this place they surveyed a townsite located on both sides of Elk river at its junction with the Umpqua, which they called Elkton.

From Elkton the company proceeded in two parties to the ferry kept up by Mr. Aiken on the north fork of the Umpqua at the crossing of the Oregon and California road. One of the parties proceeded up the Elk river to the settlement in the upper valley, consisting of about ten families that were emigrants from the Willamette valley the year before, and then taking the Oregon and California road, reached the ferry in that way. The other party proceeded directly up the Umpqua and arrived at the ferry on the evening of the 11th of August.

The party that had traveled by the way of the Elk river settlements arrived the following day, and then traveled on to the reported gold diggings on the South fork of the Umpqua, about thirty miles from the ferry. They returned in three days with about an ounce of gold of their own digging. In the meantime, the company had purchased the ferry, and the land claims of Mr. Aiken and Mr. Smith, located on each side of the river, and laid out a townsite which they named Winchester. From this place the party returned to

the mouth of the river and then sailed for San Francisco, where they arrived on the morning of the 4th of September. And at a meeting of the company, held on the evening of the same day, it was unanimously voted to charter a vessel to proceed at once to the Umpqua river and effect a settlement. And with this object in view, the brig Kate Heath was duly chartered, and on the 26th of September she sailed with about one hundred passengers on board, who were desirous of locating on the river.

Most of the company who had previously sailed on the William Roberts returned on this vessel, and thus the practical settlement of the Umpqua valley was effected.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. FRANK COLLINS, NEE MARTHA ELIZABETH GILLIAM.

By FRED LOCKLEY.

"My maiden name was Martha Elizabeth Gilliam," said Mrs. Frank Collins, when I visited her recently at her home in Dallas. "My father was General Cornelius Gilliam, tho' they generally called him 'Uncle Neal.' Father was born at Mt. Pisgah, in Florida. My mother's maiden name was Mary Crawford. She was born in Tennessee. I was born in Andrew county, Missouri, the day before the Fourth of July in the year 1839. Father and mother were married in Missouri. I don't know the day nor the year. Missouri was the jumping-off place back in those days and they didn't have courts and court records and licenses like they do now-a-days. Any circuit rider or justice of the peace could marry a couple and no records were kept except in the memory of the bride. Father met mother in Tennessee when she was a girl; fact is she would be considered only a girl when father married her, by people of today, but in those days she was considered a woman grown.

"The women worked hard when mother was a girl back in Tennessee and they had a lot of danger and excitement thrown in with their hard work. My mother lived with her aunt. When I was a little thing I used to get mother to tell me about when she was a girl. When she was betwixt and between a girl and a woman she and her aunt were busy with the house work one forenoon when some Indians came to the house. My mother's aunt shut and barred the door. The Indians began hacking at the door with their tomahawks. They cut thro' one board and had splintered another when my mother's aunt fired thro' the broken panel of the door and shot one of the Indians thro' the chest. While mother's aunt was busy loading the gun my mother boosted one of the

children thro' the back window and told him to run to the woods where the men were getting out timbers for a cabin and give the alarm. After quite a spell of hacking the Indians finally cut thro' the door and crowded into the cabin. My mother and her aunt had crawled under the four-poster bed and before the Indians could pull them out the men came on the run. The Indians heard them coming and ran away, all but the one mother's aunt had wounded. Just as he was going out of the door the men shot him and he laid down and died on the door step.

"Nowadays a man most generally has only one job, like being a lawyer, or a preacher, or a politician, or a farmer, but when my father was a young man the men folks had to whatever came to hand. When my father was in his 'teens he was a man grown and a good shot and was good at tracking game, so he naturally took up tracking runaway slaves. They used to send for him all 'round the country, for a heap of slaves used to take to the swamps. He made good money at the business. He was so good at tracking them and bringing them back to their owners that when he ran for sheriff the people said, 'He is so successful catching runaway niggers, he will be good at catching criminals,' so he was voted in as sheriff.

"When the Black Hawk war came on father enlisted and served thro' it, and when the Seminole war broke out in Florida where he was born they made him a captain and he fought thro' that war. When he had finished fighting he went back to the frontier in Missouri, for everything west of Missouri in those days was Indian country. He was a great man to make friends and so they elected him to the legislature in Missouri. He got interested in religion and was ordained a preacher. He was one of the Old Testament style of preachers. He wasn't very strong on turning the other cheek. If a man hit him on one cheek he would think he was struck by an earthquake or a cyclone before he got time to hit father on the other cheek. Father believed the Bible, particularly where it

said smite the Philistines, and he figured the Philistines was a misprint for the Mormons and he believed it was his religious duty to smite them. He believed they should be exterminated root and branch. He was a great hand to practice what he preached so he helped exterminate quite a considerable few of them. The Mormons had burned the houses and barns of some of father's folks. One of father's relatives was alone with her little baby when the Mormons came and she crept out of the window in her nightgown and had to walk thro' the snow four miles to a neighbor's while the Mormons burned her house and barn. That didn't make father feel any too friendly to the Mormons, so they run them out of Missouri and it wasn't long till they moved on and settled on the shores of the Great Salt Lake a thousand miles from anybody.

"In the spring of 1843 the first party of emigrants started from Missouri for the Willamette Valley in the Oregon country. Next spring a lot more met at Capless Landing, near Weston, Missouri, and organized to cross the plains. Because father had been a captain in the Florida Indian war and because he had been a sheriff and had been in the legislature, and was a preacher, and because he was used to having people do what he wanted, they elected him the head officer.

"They organized like a regular military expedition. Father was made general and Michael T. Simmons was made colonel and four captains were elected—R. W. Morrison, Elijah Buntion, Wm. Shaw and Richard Woodcock. Ben Nichols was chosen to act as judge and Joseph Gage and Theophilus Magruder were to serve as judges with him. Charley Saxton was the secretary. Sublette, a trader among the Indians, and Black Harris, a mountain man, acted as guides as far as Fort Laramie. From Fort Laramie to Fort Bridger the train was guided by Jo Walker. I was five years old and I remember lots of incidents of the trip.

"There were two other emigrant trains came across the plains that same season, one commanded by Nathaniel Ford and the other by John Thorpe. From the Blue Mountains on

to the Willamette Valley we had a pretty hard time as we had been delayed till the fall storms overtook us. At Burnt River we were met by an old-time friend of father's, James Waters. They generally called him General Waters. He took us to his cabin on Tualatin Plains where we stayed while father traveled over the valley looking for a land claim. Father found a place that suited him near what is now the city of Dallas, in fact the western part of Dallas is built on our donation land claim. I guess there is no doubt of my being the oldest living settler in Dallas for I settled here more than 70 years ago.

"After we had moved to our place in Polk county, Colonel Waters came and stopped with us for a while. I remember his visit because while he was staying with us he hunted up a broad smooth-grained shake, as we used to call the hand-made shingles, and whittling it perfectly smooth with his jack knife he printed the letters of the alphabet on it and taught me my letters. As we had no pencils in those days they generally melted some bar lead or a bullet and ran it in a crack and used that for a pencil, but he had a better scheme than that.

"In the creek near our house there were chunks of soft red rock called keel. He found a long splinter of keel and printed the letters on the shake and I had a mighty good substitute for a hornbook and in no time I could read my letters, and he didn't stop 'till he had taught me to make them for myself and name every one of them.

"Eugene Skinner stopped with us for a while. He took up a place at what is now Eugene. Skinner's Butte at Eugene is named for him and because he was the first settler there they named the town after his first name—Eugene. He had the first house there. He hired father to build it for him. You see he went back in the spring of 1845 to get his family. They came out the following year and Mrs. Skinner stayed at our house. Mrs. Skinner gave me the only school book I ever owned. It was an A, B, C book. She called it a primer. I went to school altogether three months. I went for a month

to Mr. Green's school. His school house was on our place and for two months I went to Alex. McCarty's log school on Rickreall creek. I learned my reading from a page torn from the Bible. He didn't have any sure enough readers, so he tore up a Bible and gave each scholar a page or so. Mrs. Skinner helped me to learn to read, for I took my pages home with me every night so I would have my lesson next day.

"There were six girls and two boys in our family. I was the next to youngest child and I am the only one of the family now alive.

"When we settled here our neighbors were Solomon Shelton, Uncle Mitchell Gilliam, Ben. F. Nichols and Uncle John Nichols.

In 1846 the Provisional Legislature authorized Tom McKay* to build a road for the emigrants across the Cascade mountains from what is now Albany, clear across the mountains to Fort Boise. He was to have it ready for travel by August, 1846, so the emigrants that year could use it. The day before the Fourth of July, it was on my seventh birthday, my father took out a party of men to pick out the route for the new road. My father's old friend, James Waters, was along, and so was T. C. Shaw, Joseph Gervais, Xavier Gervais, Antonio Delore, George Montour, J. B. Gardipie, S. P. Thornton, and Mr. McDonald and Mr. Thomas McKay. They couldn't find a good route over the mountains so a road was built over the Barlow trail instead, but they didn't have anything to do with that road.

"Next summer father headed a party to explore the Rogue River and Klamath River Valleys so emigrants could come in by that route.

Congress raised a regiment of riflemen for the Oregon country but the Mexican troubles caused them to send them down there so Oregon never saw a hide or hair of them.* At

* December 16, 1845, instead of 1846.—*Oregon Archives*, p. 145.—Geo. H. Himes.

The Mounted Rifles came to Oregon in 1849, arriving at Fort Vancouver on October 4, 1849. See page 227, *Report of Secretary of War*, Nov. 30, 1850.—George H. Himes.

the same time the Postmaster-General† was authorized to contract for a mail route to run from Charleston, South Carolina, to the mouth of the Columbia River. The boats were to come six times a year via the Isthmus of Panama. For bringing the mail to Oregon once every two months the contractor was to be paid \$100,000 a year. So as to make the service as near self-sustaining as possible Congress fixed the rate of postage on letters at forty cents an ounce. Father was appointed superintendent of postal matters for Oregon. Two postoffices were allowed for Oregon, one at Oregon City and one at Astoria. David Hill was appointed postmaster at Oregon City and John M. Shively at Astoria. Post routes were established from Oregon City by way of Fort Vancouver and Fort Nisqually to the mouth of Admiralty Inlet, and the other route ran from Oregon City up the Willamette Valley and thro' the Umpqua valley and on to Klamath river. The routes were to be in operation by July 1st, 1847. The mail bags came by ship around the Horn and were delivered at our house. The postal keys were sent in care of some people coming across the plains and they were delivered at our house also, as well as father's commission as Oregon's first postal agent. I still have his commission. I am a great hand to save things of that kind.

"Right after the Indians killed Doctor and Mrs. Whitman and the rest at Wai-il-at-pu the provisional legislature told Jesse Applegate, A. L. Lovejoy and George L. Curry to raise the money to buy arms and equipment for the settlers so they could go and punish the Indians for the massacre. The settlers enlisted as soldiers, but the committee couldn't raise the money to buy the guns and powder and lead and other things. Governor James Douglas, the Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, who had recently succeeded Dr. John McLoughlin, who had moved to Oregon City, told Jesse Applegate that he would furnish all needed equipment and take the signatures of Gov-

† Cave Johnson.

ernor Abernethy, Jesse Applegate and A. L. Lovejoy as security, so that fixed that up.

"The legislature elected my father to be colonel of the regiment and his friend, James Waters, to be lieutenant colonel. H. A. G. Lee was made major and Joel Palmer was elected commissary general. They appointed Joe Meek to act as messenger to go back to Washington and ask for help to suppress the Indians. They issued an appeal to all the citizens to help equip additional troops to be raised.

"The day that Peter Skene Ogden reached Portland with the survivors of the Whitman massacre, whom he had bought for blankets and other trade goods from the Indians who held them captive, was the day that my father started with 50 men for eastern Oregon. The rest of the troops were to come as soon as they could get ready. At Cascade portage they established a fort which was named after father—Fort Gilliam. The stockade at The Dalles was named after Major H. A. G. Lee—Fort Lee.

"Right after father got to The Dalles he took what men he had and went up on the Deschutes and had a fight with the Indians. He killed some and captured a lot of their horses and some cattle. The rest of the troops soon reached The Dalles and they went out and had a fight with the Cayuse Indians and drove them before them. The troops went up into the Walla Walla country. Father with two companies visited Wai-il-at-pu Mission, where the Whitmans were killed. The wolves had dug up the bodies so the soldiers reburied them. The soldiers met the Indians, mostly Palouses and Cayuses, on the Tucannon and defeated them, after which the soldiers returned to Fort Waters.† The troops were short of ammunition and they were getting tired of eating horse meat, so the officers held a council and decided to send a strong escort to The Dalles to secure powder and lead and food.

"On March 20th, *Captain McKay's company with Captain

† This was at the site of the Whitman Mission, all buildings there having been destroyed.

Maxon's company started for The Dalles. My father was with them, as he was going to the Willamette Valley to confer with Governor Abernethy. While they were camped at Wells Springs near the Umatilla river, my father went to the wagon to get his picket rope to stake out his horse. My father had given strict orders to the men not to put their loaded guns in the wagon on account of the danger of accidents, but one of the men had disobeyed the orders. When father pulled his picket rope out it caught on the hammer of the gun drawing the hammer back and then releasing it, discharging the gun. The bullet struck father in the center of the forehead and killed him instantly.

"Captain McKay brought father's body to our home here on the Rickreall and the whole country turned out to his funeral. The following June special services were held for him by the Masonic order. Masons came from all over the Oregon country to do honor to him.

"Father had come to Oregon not only to make a home but to help hold Oregon for the United States. Each family that came were promised a section of land. The husband was given a right to take up 320 acres and the wife had a right to take up 320 acres. Father and mother took up a section, but because father went out in the defense of Oregon's settlers and was killed while in command of the troops fighting the Indians, he was not allowed to hold his 320 acres. When mother came to prove up she was only allowed to hold her half of our place. Father was not there in person to prove up on his half, so we lost it. She told them why he couldn't be there because he was killed, but they would only let her have her half of our farm. Mother always felt that father was not treated right, as he was punished for his patriotism by having his half section of land taken away and then he was killed before the money was available to pay the troops and he never received a cent for his services either from the Provisional or received a cent for his services from the government at Washington.

"I have always saved father's commission as Special Postal Agent of Oregon, and I also have the glasses President Monroe gave him. Mr. Monroe and father had been good friends long before Monroe ever thought of being president. When father told President Monroe he was coming out to Oregon, Mr. Monroe gave him a pair of spectacles and said 'Take these glasses with you, Neal. You don't need them now, but if the time comes when you do need them and you can't get any out there in Oregon they will come in handy.' Father and President Polk had worked together in politics and Polk was very friendly toward father.

"Father was killed in the spring of 1848 and we had a pretty hard time to make out for a while, but mother was a hard worker and a good planner and we managed to get along. My oldest brother, Smith Gilliam, thought he could help most by going to the California gold mines, so as pretty near every man in the whole country was either there or on the way, he pulled out for the gold diggings in the spring of '49. My brother Marcus and I had to do the farming. I was going on ten years old so I was plenty old enough to do my share of supporting the family. I drove the oxen and Mark held the plow. When the wheat was harvested we put the shocks in the corral and turned the calves and young stock in to tramp it out. We had to keep them moving or they would eat it instead of tramping out the grain. I enjoyed threshing the wheat out. I would go into the corral, catch a young heifer by the tail and while she would bawl and try to get away I would hold on like grim death and as she sailed around the corral trying to escape I would be taking steps ten feet long. This would start all the rest of the stock going full tilt so the grain got well trampled.

"We cut the wheat with a reap hook, tramped it out with the cattle and cleaned it by throwing it up in the air and letting the afternoon sea-breeze blow away the chaff. We had a big coffee mill fastened to a tree and it was my job to grind all the wheat for the bread mother baked. It took a lot of grinding to keep us in whole wheat flour.

"The summer I was fourteen we were milking 24 cows. We didn't have the money to buy American cows, so we broke the half-wild Spanish cows to milk. Many and many is the time they would tree me while I was trying to break them to be milked. They were thin-flanked, long-legged and long-horned and wild as deer, but night and morning I milked my string of twelve of them. We sold the butter for 50 cents a pound and it was sent to the California mines. We got 50 cents a pound for all the bacon we cured. We saved from our butter and bacon that summer better than \$800.

"My brother Marcus and I were chums. I thought anything he did was just right. We fought each other's battles and were very devoted to each other. When the Yakima Indian war came on they wanted recruits, so he volunteered. I didn't want him to go for father had been killed in the Cayuse war, and I thought our family had shown patriotism enough, but Mark felt that he should go, so I did all I could to help get him ready. The young folks came in to bid him good bye. I was feeling pretty bad about it, so he said 'Don't you feel bad, Lizzie, I'll bring you home an Indian's scalp.' Mark went and his company got into a pretty bad fight. A Klickitat warrior raised up from behind a rock and shot at Mark but missed him. The next time the Indian raised his head Mark put a bullet thro' it and then ran down to get his scalp. The other Indians tried to keep him from scalping the Indian he had killed and they all fired at Mark. My brother-in-law, Judge Collins, was there, and he said the gravel and dust was just fairly boiling around Mark as he stooped over and scalped the Indian. The bullets hit all 'round him, but nary a one hit him, and he brought the scalp back to me when he came back from the war. I kept it for years, but the moths got in it and the hair began shedding, so I burned it up.

"I have always liked Indians. One of the prettiest Indian girls I ever saw was Frances, the Indian girl Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan lived with. She was a Rogue River Indian girl. She was as graceful as a deer and as slender as a fawn. She

loved Sheridan devotedly. Her brother was a fine looking Indian, too. He was named Harney, after an army officer. He was a teamster for the troops. When the Civil War broke out and Sheridan was called east, Frances was almost broken hearted.

"After the war General Sheridan fixed it up for four of the Indians to come back at government expense and visit the 'Great White Father,' as they call the president. Frances, her brother Harney, and two other Indians went. Frances came and showed me all her clothes. She had a fine outfit for the trip. Years later she lived at Corvallis and did washing. Any of the old-timers at Corvallis can tell you all about her.

"When the soldiers would leave Fort Hoskins or Fort Yamhill their Indian wives would follow them to where they embarked for the east. Frequently they would have to say good-bye at Corvallis. The Indian women would feel awfully bad to have their soldier lovers leave, as they knew they would never see them again.

"When we came here in 1844 our claim was a great camping place for the Indians. There would be scores of tepees along the creek. It was like a big camp meeting, only they were Indians in place of white people and instead of meeting to sing and pray they had met to race horses and to gamble. We children used to love to go to their camp and watch them gamble. They would spread out a blanket and put the stakes on the blanket. They would stake everything they had on the game, staking their beads and blankets and stripping down to their breech clout. The most exciting time, tho', was when they were running their horses. First they would bet all the horses they had, then their guns and beads and blankets, and often an Indian would be stripped almost naked as the result of a close race.

"One Indian family had their tepee near our house. They stayed all summer. There was a little girl just my age, eight years old. We loved each other like sisters. Sid-na-yah used to come at milking time and I would give her a cup of warm

milk. We would drink from the same cup. She was my only playmate. She was near kin to the head chief. She was taken sick and they called in an Indian medicine man. They let my sister Henrietta and me in the tepee where he was beating sticks and hollering and trying to drive out the evil spirit. She died. The chief came and asked mother if my sister Rettie and I could go to her funeral. Mother let us go. The Indians took a milk pan full of beads and broke them up and scattered all over her. After their ceremonies were over they buried her on the hillside near our house. They shot her horse and placed it near the head of her grave and her favorite dog they killed and put at the foot of her grave. They put poles around her grave on which they fastened all of her buckskin dresses and other treasures. Next year when her mother came back and saw Rettie and me, she cried as if her heart would break. She went out often to Sid-na-yah's grave. People think Indians don't love or have any feelings because they do not wear their hearts on their sleeves; but I believe Indians feel as deeply and love as truly as white folks.

"The emigrants brought the measles to Oregon. The Indians didn't know how to doctor them. They would go in one of their sweat houses and then jump in a cold stream and it usually killed them. One season we heard frequent wailing from the Indian camp near us. Quatley, the chief, told my mother all their children were dying of the white man's disease. We children got the measles, but mother doctored us successfully. An Indian medicine man came to our house for protection. He said his patients all died so the Indians were going to kill him for claiming he could cure them and not doing so. When he thought the coast was clear he started off, but just then Quatley rode up. The Indian whipped his horse and started off at a keen run. Quatley took good aim and shot and the medicine man went over his horse headfirst and only lived a little while. When Quatley saw that we children all got well of the measles he came to mother and said. 'Your children get well, all our children die. Your medicine is

stronger than ours. My little girl is sick. I want you to cure her.' Mother said, 'No, I won't try. If she dies you will kill me like you killed your medicine man the other day.' Quatley said, 'If you don't treat her she will die, so I will let you do what you will. If she dies I will not blame you.' Mother had the chief's daughter come to our house. She kept her out of the draft and gave her herbs and teas and she soon was well. Quatley drove up his herd of horses and said, 'You have saved my little girl for me. Take all the horses you want.' Mother told him she didn't want any. He kept us supplied with game as long as he camped in that neighborhood. Anything he had he shared with us. He kept our loft full of hazel nuts and he had the squaws bring us all the huckleberries we could use. As long as Quatley was in the country we never lacked for deer meat.

"In 1848 Dave Lewis was elected sheriff of Polk county. In the fall of that same year, 1848, he resigned to go to the California gold mines. My brother, W. S. Gilliam, or Smith Gilliam, as he was usually called, was appointed in his place.

"In February, 1852, William Everman killed Seranas C. Hooker, a Polk county farmer. Hooker accused Everman of stealing his watch. My brother had the unpleasant duty of hanging Everman. His brother Hiram was tried for being an accomplice. He had helped his brother get away. Hiram was generally considered a good man. I believe that William Everman, who killed Hooker, was mentally unbalanced. Enoch Smith was sentenced to be hung for being an accessory to the crime, but was pardoned and David Coe, who was also tried for being an accomplice, secured a change of venue and was acquitted. Hiram Everman, the brother of the murderer, was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary; but as there was no penitentiary and they didn't want to build one for the exclusive benefit of Hiram Everman, they decided to sell him at auction. Dave Grant, who was a brother-in-law of Sheriff Smith Gilliam, was the auctioneer. They put him up for sale here in Dallas. Hiram was sold the day his brother was hung.

Theodore Prather bought him. When he had worked out his three years Prather gave him a horse and saddle and twenty dollars. He went to Douglas county and raised a family and was a good citizen.

"Frank Nichols, who married my sister Sarah, was the next sheriff. One of his first jobs was hanging Adam E. Wimple. Wimple had stayed for a while at our house in 1845. He married a 13-year-old girl in 1850 and within a year killed her. They lived in Cooper Hollow, four or five miles from Dallas. My brother-in-law, Alec Gage, and his wife stopped at Wimple's house the morning he killed her. Mrs. Wimple's face was all swollen and her eyes were red from crying. Wimple saw they noticed it, so he said 'Mary isn't feeling very well this morning.' My brother-in-law and his wife had not gone over a mile and a half when they saw smoke rising from where the Wimple house was. They hurried back and found the house in flames. It was too late to save anything in the house. When the fire had burned out they found Mrs. Wimple under the floor partially burned. Wimple had disappeared. He was more than double her age. She was 14 and he was about 35. A posse captured him and brought him to Dallas. I knew Wimple well, so I asked him why he had killed Mary? He said, 'Well, I killed her. I don't really know why.'

"There was no jail so Frank Nichols took Wimple to his house to stay. Frank swore in four guards, but Wimple got away and was gone four days before they found him and brought him back. They tracked him to the house where he had killed his wife. I went over to stay with my sister, Mrs. Nichols, while he was boarding there waiting to be hung and I helped her cook for him. Frank hung him early in October, 1852. Wimple sat on his coffin in the wagon when they drove to the gallows where he was to be hung. They passed the sheriff's father, Uncle Ben Nichols, while they were on their way to the gallows. Wimple was afraid Uncle Ben would be late and miss the hanging, so he called out 'Uncle Ben, ain't you going to the hanging? Ain't you coming down to see me

hung?' Uncle Ben said, 'I have seen enough of you, Adam. No, I ain't going.' Uncle Ben was the only man in Polk county to receive a personal invitation and he was about the only one who didn't take a day off to see the hanging.

"Churches are plenty nowadays and folks don't seem to set much store by them; but when I was a girl we drove 25 miles to church and were mighty glad to get to go. The church I attended was held in a school house and the preacher was old Doctor R. C. Hill, a Baptist minister. I met my future husband there. I was fourteen and Frank was nineteen when we first met. The name he was christened by is Francis Marion Collins, but I always call him Frank. He went to the California mines in the fall of '54. He mined near Yreka. In 1858 he took a drove of cattle down to the mines and the following year we were married. We were married on August 29, 1859, by Justice of the Peace Isaac Staats.

"There is one thing I have always been glad about and that is that Gilliam county was named after father.

"Gilliam county was set off in 1885 with Alkali, now called Arlington, for its county seat. Two of my cousins, William Lewis and J. C. Nelson, were in the legislature that session. They were taking dinner with me one day and they began talking about cutting off a new county from Wasco county. W. W. Steiwer and Thomas Cartwright were lobbying to have the new county created. "Cy" said the new county was to be named after the man who had surveyed it. I spoke up and said, 'Why not call it after my father; he was killed up in that country while fighting for Oregon.' Lewis said, 'Your father was killed at Wells Springs, which is in Umatilla county; but I think it would be a good plan to name the new county after him.' Cy Nelson said, 'I'll introduce a motion to have the new county named Gilliam county.' He did so and so the new county was called after father."

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF JOHN DAY

Editorial Notes by T. C. ELLIOTT.

John Day was a member of the Wilson Price Hunt or Overland party of the Pacific Fur Company (Astorians) which assembled at the mouth of the "Nadowa" (near where the city of Saint Joseph, Mo., now stands) in the fall of 1810, crossed the plains and Rocky Mountains during 1811 and arrived at Astoria during the winter and spring of 1812. The itinerary and experiences of those "Earliest Travelers on the Oregon Trail" have been clearly told on pages 227-239 of Vol. 13 of this Quarterly. John Day was a "Kentucky hunter" engaged to act as one of the hunters of the party, and is thus described by Washington Irving at page 146 of Vol. 1 of his "Astoria":

"John Day, a hunter from the backwoods of Virginia, but who had been several years on the Missouri in the service of Mr. Crooks, and of other traders. He was about forty years of age, six feet two inches high, straight as an Indian; with an elastic step as if he trod on springs, and a handsome, open, manly countenance. It was his boast that, in his younger days, nothing could hurt or daunt him; but he had 'lived too fast' and injured his constitution by his excesses. Still he was strong of hand, bold of heart, a prime woodman, and an almost unerring shot."

John Day's early excesses evidently incapacitated him for extreme hardship, for in the final crisis of that journey, in December, 1811, along the banks of Snake river, he gave out and his life was saved only by the fact that Ramsay Crooks remained behind with him at some Indian camp near Weiser, Idaho. The following spring these two made their way across the Blue Mountains to the Columbia river, only to be attacked, robbed and left practically naked near the mouth of what has ever since been called the John Day river about thirty miles east of The Dalles. They were found by others of the fur traders and reached Astoria early in May.

John Day was soon assigned to accompany Robert Stuart back across the plains to St. Louis with dispatches for Mr. Astor, and the party set off on the 29th of June; but during the night of July 2nd while encamped on or near Wapato Island he suddenly became deranged and the following morning attempted to commit suicide and was sent back to Astoria in the care of some friendly Indians. This is all told by Mr. Irving on pages 111-12 of Vol. 2 of "Astoria," with the final statement that "his constitution was completely broken by the hardships he had undergone and he died within a year."

With this reference John Day's name disappears from the writings of the annalists of the Pacific Fur Company's and North-West Company's careers upon the Columbia river, that is, until 1824. Tradition only (as far as known to the writer) is responsible for the infrequent statement that he retired from his associates and died in a small hunter's cabin on the banks of the large creek which empties into the Columbia a few miles above Tongue Point, which has for years been mapped and known as John Day creek.

But Mr. Irving was either inspired or mistaken, for John Day did not die within a year, although he is not again mentioned until 1824 by any of the fur traders of the Columbia river. When the North-West Company's bargain with the Pacific Fur Company was completed it provided that those of the Astorians who did not then and there join the North-West Company be conveyed back to Montreal, or elsewhere east of the Rocky Mountains; and a "brigade" of ten canoes containing nearly eighty men left Astoria on April 4th, 1814, bound for the Athabasca Pass. The names of the party are all listed by Alex. Henry in his Journal, and Canoe No. 7 carried as "passengers, Mr. David Stuart and Mr. Joshua Day." Now there is nowhere any mention of such a person as Joshua Day among the gentlemen of either company, and Alex. Henry having been at Astoria only since the 15th of November, 1813, probably was not intimate with the names of all the Pacific Fur Company's men; so there is good reason

to conclude that Joshua Day and John Day are one and the same person notwithstanding the discrepancy in names, and that our Mr. John Day then ascended the Columbia at least as far as one of the other North-West Company trading posts and eventually joined the North-West Company in some form of service. The document herewith is partial proof of such service and his weakness of body probably accounts for the lack of mention of him.

Our next record of John Day is contained in the Journal of Alex. Ross, who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company trapping party in the Snake country in 1823-24. The entry of May 12th, 1824, reads: "Went up to headwaters of the river. This is the defile where in 1819 died John Day." (Or. Hist. Quar. Vol. 14, p. 380.) Day's Defile is a mountain valley which heads in the Salmon River mountains of central Idaho and opens upon the lava beds to the north of the Three Buttes. John Work's Journal of November 2nd, 1830, reads: "Camped near the head of Day's River" (Or. Hist. Quar., Vol. 13, p. 369). Capt. Bonneville was on the same stream in December, 1832, as related by Mr. Irving, and the Arrowsmith maps of 1835-45 designate it as Day's or MacKenzie's river. It has, however, lost the original name and is now mapped as Little Lost River, from the fact that its flow sinks and follows underground channels to the Snake river.

Turning now to the document itself we find that the testator and witnesses recite its execution Feb. 15th, 1820, "on the dependencies of the River Columbia," and that Donald MacKenzie proves it by swearing that John Day died Feb. 16th, 1820, "on the south side of the River Columbia in the Territory of Oregon." Had it been executed at Fort George or Spokane or Nez Perce the recital would have been different. This document was therefore written and executed in the camp of Donald MacKenzie on one of the mountain streams of Idaho, and may be the first proven will ever executed in Old Oregon—certainly in the State of Idaho.

Donald MacKenzie was a passenger in Canoe No. 1 of the

brigade which left Astoria on April 4th, 1814, and carried to Mr. Astor the papers of final settlement with the North-West Company and the draft in payment. He then joined the North-Westerns again and returned to the Columbia in 1816 to take full charge of the fur trade of the interior or upper river. Alex. Ross, in "Fur Hunters of the Far West," is our authority for his presence in the Snake country in the winter of 1820 in charge of a large trapping party there. Evidently he kept this document in his own possession until able as an American citizen to present it for probate at Mayville, New York, where he resided from 1833 until 1851, the date of his death.

The suggestion has been made that Washington Irving was inspired when he stated that John Day died within a year. This suggestion may be enlarged upon at some future date when it may be possible to relate the story of Donald MacKenzie's collection of the bequest to his daughter Rachel, being the moneys due from John Jacob Astor to John Day for services rendered the Pacific Fur Company. The document follows:

Before God and the subscribing witnesses, I, John Day the son of Ambrose Day in the County of Culpepper, State of Virginia, being sound in mind but infirm of body, do hereby make and constitute this my lawful Will and Testament, and I appoint Mr. Donald MacKenzie as the sole Executor of the same as follows:

First. I hereby give and bequeath to the said Donald MacKenzie two hundred and forty acres of landed property given to me by the Spanish Government formerly at St. Louis in Louisiana. The said property of two hundred and forty acres of land is situated about a mile from the banks of the Missouri, on the south side and lying upon the creek Lavudze right hand side of that creek adjoining the lands of Mons'r Cheateau. All papers concerning the said landed property I have placed in the hands of Mr. James McKay, residing about nine miles below the town of St. Louis. I therefore request and desire of the said James McKay, his heirs administrators or Executors that he or they will give and deliver up or see given

or delivered up into the hands of the said Donald MacKenzie or into his order all and every of the papers, the deeds or rights whatsoever appertaining to or concerning the said two hundred and forty acres of landed property situated as above mentioned.

I further give and bequeath to said Donald MacKenzie all and every my right and pretensions to the Salt Peter lands discovered by me about Boons Licks at the River Missouri.

I also bequeath to him the said Donald MacKenzie my one-third proportion of profits therefrom arising since first I found them, and I request and desire of my worthy friend Mr. Benjamin Cooper and of Mr. John Fairal who have been hitherto partners with me in the proceeds of the said Salt Peter lands, that they deliver up or see delivered up into the hands of the said Donald MacKenzie or into his order all the share of profits belonging to me as arising from the said Salt Peter lands since the commencement of my partnership with them, which I believe took place in the year eighteen hundred and nine.

I give and bequeath to Miss Rachel MacKenzie of Columbia River all and every my ready cash with the lawful interest arising therefrom, and lying in the hands of my former master, Mr. John Jacob Astor, Merchant of New York. I therefore desire the said John Jacob Astor to deliver into the hands of my aforesaid Executor or order, all the ready cash with lawful interest belonging to me in his possession.

Signed and sealed this fifteenth day of February on the dependencies of the River Columbia in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

I wish this writing to be considered by all men as my lawful will and testament.

JOHN DAY. L. S.

Witness

WILLIAM RETTSON.

JAMES BIRNIE.

State of New York,)
) ss.
Chautauqua County.)

Be it remembered that at a Surrogate's Court held at the Village of Mayville in the County of Chautauqua, on the twenty eighth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty six, the last Will and Testament of John Day late of the Territory of Oregon in the United States of America, deceased (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed) was admitted to probate after a citation to the next of kin (there being no widow of said deceased) to the said deceased issued, served, returned and filed according to law.

Whereupon at the place and on the day aforesaid the following witnesses after having been duly sworn by the said Surrogate, testified as follows, to-wit: after proof of legal service of the said citation on the next of kin to the said deceased Donald MacKenzie after having been duly sworn by the said Surrogate, testified as follows: that there was a promissory note of the said deceased came into the County of Chautauqua since the death of the said deceased, and that John Day the said deceased died on the sixteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty, on the south side of the River Columbia in the Territory of Oregon, in the United States, which was the place of his residence at the time of his death; and this deponent further says that William Rettson and James Birnie the two subscribing witnesses to the last Will and Testament of the said John Day deceased, now reside out of the State of New York, according to the belief and knowledge of this deponent, and that he is well acquainted with the hand writing of the said William Rettson and James Birnie, and that the signatures of the said witnesses to the said Will are the proper signatures of the said William Rettson and James Birnie who signed their names to the said will of said deceased, at the request of said decedent, and in the presence of the said deceased, and in the presence of each other, and this deponent further says that he is well

acquainted with the handwriting of John Day the said deceased, and that the signature of John Day to the will of said deceased here produced in Court is the signature of said deceased, the proper handwriting of John Day the said deceased, and further that at the time the said deceased executed said will he was of sound disposing mind and memory and not under restraint, and the said William Rettson and James Birnie the said witnesses to the said will, took the said will after it was executed and immediately handed the said will to this deponent, and this deponent says that the said will now presented in Court is the same will of said deceased without any alteration whatever.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

Whereupon, I, the said Surrogate, upon the proof aforesaid, being satisfied of the genuineness and validity of the said will, order that the said will be admitted to probate, and that Letters Testamentary thereon be granted to Donald MacKenzie Executor in the said will named, after the expiration of thirty days from the time of taking the proof aforesaid, on his taking and subscribing the oath of office prescribed by law.

In Testimony Whereof, we have caused the seal of office of our Surrogate to be hereunto affixed.

L. S.

Witness William Smith, Surrogate of the County of Chautauqua aforesaid, at Mayville in said County on the second day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty six.

WILLIAM SMITH,
Surrogate.

DOCUMENTARY.

Letters of Elihu Wright to his brother, Samuel Wright.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

By GEO. H. HIMES.

(Elihu Wright, the son of Elihu and Sally (Lewis) Wright, was born on a farm near Saybrook, Conn., April 12, 1801. Like nearly all the recruits that manned the big fleet of whalers that fared forth from New England on three-, four- and five-year cruises, young Wright had found the limited area of the Connecticut farm too small for the large family it sheltered. On his second cruise he was injured so badly in a tussle with a whale that he was a cripple for the rest of his life. He died Sept. 30, 1840.

Students of hereditary traits will find something of interest in the fact that four of the Wright brothers, grandsons of Elihu Wright the whaler, are residing in Portland, and are directly and indirectly interested in shipping and maritime business. E. W. Wright, at present manager for the Port of Portland, was a sailor and a steamboat man before he broke into the newspaper game. Capt. Walter H. is in command of a Canadian Pacific steamer on Arrow lakes. Fred B. was purser on the lakes for a long time, and for the past ten years has been chief clerk for the San Francisco and Portland Steamship Company. C. L. Wright for the past fifteen years has been dispatching grain cargoes for a large exporting house in this city.)

I.

Bunavista, Oct. 3d, 1822.

Dear Brother :

With pleasure I snatch my pen in haste to inform you how and where I am. My health is almost perfectly recovered. I hope these few lines will find you with your little family well,

likewise parents and brothers, with all inquiring friends enjoying the same invaluable blessing. I don't think that I was ever more fleshy than I now am. Of a truth, I am growing too big for my clothes and I feel as if I could do a thing or two. We left Nantucket the 3d of Sept. and made the Isle of Saul the 3d of Oct., being 30 days out of sight of land. We had a very rough passage the most of the way. For two or three weeks we had very squally weather with thunder and rain a plenty. Some nights when it did not rain hard enough Old Boreaus would scrape up handfuls of salt water in our faces. We lost the head boards off our gallant ship's head that bore her noble name, one on the 5th day out and the other the 20th, when we had a hard gale of wind in the which we lay too for a few hours under close reefed maintopsail and foretopmast staysail and mizzenstaysail. The 9th day out we had a bit of a sailed in co with the Independence. About three o'clock P. M. we discovered some whale to the leeward. We soon discovered them and run down for them, lowered the first and 2nd Mates' boats. I was in the first Mate's boat at the midship oar. There was a bad sea running but we pulled away over ditch and dam after some single whale but they went off faster than we could row our boat so both boats come to a stand and lay at our oars. Mr. Chase discovered a school of small whale and pulled for them and in a few minutes was fast to one. We were rowing the other way but tacked and stood for them and found they were cows and calves and to be sure they were more thicker than the cows and calves in father's barnyard. Mr. Hussey thought best to both tackle one whale so we ran our boat hard on and threw in two Irons when he came at us nose first, apparently very angry, puffing and spouting. Then it was back water all back water, or in other words stern haul. When we got out of his way he swam away fast and had we had bells and brandy we would have had quite a romantick slayride. When he grew dull we would haul up to him and spur him with a lance till he was bloody as a butcher. Once while hauling up to him he raised his unman-

nerly flukes within a handsbreadth of our boat to the height of 16 or 18 feet in the air and it rained a noble shower, but we thought salt water would not hurt us so we kept spurring him up until about dusk he died. Had it been in the early part of the day our officers think we should have taken six or eight of them for they kept squirming about like a basket of eels. There was one alongside of that we took for more than an hour or so that we thought we had made a mistake and struck two instead of one. Mr. Chase bent his lance the first or second dart as crooked as an Ivy rainbow. We got alongside of the ship about eight in the evening. We had a bitter squall in the night. When my watch was called at 12 I went up to close reef the maintopsail, my hat got blew into old Davy's locker. We were so much unprepared that we worked all night to be ready for cutting in the whale. We hauled the blubber on board in the morning and the succeeding day tried it out which made 32 barrels. If you want to know anything more about this whaling affair come here and I'll tell you all about the pig.

I am very sorry that *Mr. Joy* was not able to come with us as *Mr. Dr. Hussey* proves to be a , but I make better weather of it than any of the crew. He chose me to row his boat since we took the whale. Chauncey rows *Mr. Chase* and *Mr. Foldien*, the Capt. We anchored yesterday at 2 o'clock off the Isle of Bunavista in order to send home our oil by the Brig *Unhan* here after salt. If you can get time you will do well to come and get your salt before killing time. There is more in this island than you will want. All you will want is your 9 cents and bushel basket. There is plenty of fish alongside of various kinds. I had some bread and milk for my dinner. The crew are generally pretty hearty some are afflicted with boils. I have not seen one sick hour till last night after rowing ashore for 6 or 8 miles and back then getting out our cables and bending and anchoring and furling sails. being very hot, I had a severe sick headache which lasted through the night but feel better today. We shall proceed in two or three

days. We are in Lat. 18-6 min. *South* and 22-53 min. West.

As time and paper have failed me quite I must now close my letter and wish you all goodbye. I shall write every opportunity and I will give you time to read one before you get another. I want to see Erasmus very much. You must make him some jacket and trowsers and send him to school so that he can go around Cape Horn when I get to be the Capt. of a whale ship. So fare you well. This from Borthor E. Wright. Give my best compliments to all enquiring friends.

Addressed,

To Mr. Samuel Wright,
Saybrook
in Connecticut.

Written on back,

II.

Rec'd 10th Dec., 1822.

South Pacific, Feb. 10th, 1823.

On board Ship Enterprise in Lat. 01-40 South, Longitude 120 West.

Dear Brother:

Being now among the number who survive the pale nations of the dead and in good health, I take this opportunity, although very unexpected, of writing a few lines to acquaint you how and where I am, hoping at the same time that this may find you in health and prosperity.

Last night at 8 spoke the Ship Equator, Capt. B., of Nantucket, with 1500 bls. & wanting 30 more to fill up. She spoke a few days since the Ship Henry, of N Haven; all well, 1800 bls., and Ship Planter of N. F., 1700 bls. Some scurvey on board. Wm. Griffis, of Killingsworth, is dead. After cruising one season on the coast of Japan they returned to the coast of California and went into Francisco Bay to wood and water, where he was killed. The circumstance, as near as I could learn, was this: Griffis, with some others, had the scurvey and lived ashore in a tent. They set him on shore just at night

and returned to the ship with water. Griffis had a small bag of bread and had to walk across a considerable of a flat of land to reach the tent but did not reach there and they thought him to be on board the ship and those wooding and watering thought he was at the tent. They did not miss him till one or two days after they inquired of the inhabitants (who are generally savage) and were informed of a dead body lying near when they passed. They went to look and found his body. He appeared to have his scull broken and plundered of his clothes. The Equator lost one man, drowned by turning over the boat in the breakers on a bar when they were boating off wood. We spoke Ship Marcus of Sagharbor the 3rd of Feb. 6 mo. out; 200 bls. Boat had one man killed the first whale. The whale struck the boat and threw a turn of the line over his head and dragged him forward to the chocks of the boat. He lived just six hours. Ship Alexander has lost two boys. The Plowboy, all well; 500 bls. last news. We had pretty contrary wind from Bunavista around the Cape, very hot and calm on the line (at Nov. 1st). The weather off Cape Horn was very rugged and the sea boisterous. We made Statten land off C. Horn the 8th Dec. Its tops well covered with snow. We were about 40 days off Cape Horn, 20 of which we were from 56 to 60 South, the days 18½ hours long. There was not more than two hours darkness. It was so light through the night as to be able to read on deck, although cloudy. We had a very severe gale off the Cape the 19th Capt. Weeks said he never knew the blow harder. We lay too under staysails & close reefed maintopsails. We were obliged to take in the S. S. Our boats were all taken in but one. The ship was rolling her boat davies under every swell while we were on the yard. She washt every coil of rigging off the pins to the leeward, but it lasted but about 30 hours. We had another after we doubled the Cape in Lat. 41 South, more severe, if possible, than the other, but not so sharp sea, but since we have got up on the tropic the weather is as pleasant as man ever enjoyed. S. E. winds.

As to the oily part of my story, I have not come to that yet no further than to tell you we are as free from oil as the sky is of cobwebs. We have not lowered since the 7th day out

Our ship sails remarkably well. We have run by all that we have fell in with. She is likewise light. We have been out 160 days and she has not leaked more than we could pump in four hours. The ship has met with no material accident.

I am sorry I cannot write you better news but we live in high hopes of having a sley ride. We are altering our course to the south some in hopes of finding whale. They are very plenty in Japan where likely we shall be in four months. I shall write again from the Sandwich Islands if I have opportunity. I shall be glad to hear from you. Please to write me the news. Write and tell of everything. Write if the turnpike has lived over the winter, the price of corn and the fare of ducks, and above all things, how your swamp hay holds out. If pigs should be scarce this spring among you, you can have some for coming here for them. We shall in a few days have an assortment, some of the Connecticut breed and some of the Portugue. It is but about 15 or 16 thousand miles we shall not want them all as we have no milk you know.

The Capt. of the Equator is now aboard of us. I momentarily expect him to leave and must therefore leave writing. So goodbye. I do not expect to return short of three years. Give my love to all enquiring friends, as I remain,

Affectionate brother,

E. Wright.

Addressed,

Samuel Wright,

Saybrook,

In Connecticut.

III.

Rec'd 27th July.

Beloved Brother:

I shall now improve time by writing a few lines to give you the news if you will take the trouble to peruse (.....)

which may inform you that I am well and have enjoyed my health two months past much better than I did the first part of the voyage. We are now lying at Worahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands, where we anchored the 12th of March. We fell in with the ship *Eagle* on the 16th of Feb., six days after I wrote you last by the ship *Equator*, Capt. Barnet, in Lat. 1-40 South 120 W. Long. Found all well on board—900 bls.—Job has been frequently on board and on the 17th we were in a shoal of whale with the *Eagle's* crew. Stannard looks as tough as a whiteoak. As for my part, I got dry jokes and wet jacket. Jno and myself were in the chief mate's boat. We rowed to leeward and struck a large whale. She up flukes and let have & we found the boat traveling upwards. She then reacht her flukes over the gunwale of the boat and struck me across the back and landed me aft acrost the thwarts, bruising my shins to no small rate. Our boat was filled with water but the fish slatted out the Irons and left us to bail our boat at leisure—though something difficult as it was very rugged as every sea breaking acrost the boat we could not see our ship's loftiest spars except when on the top of a swell, although no more than a mile distant. This is the second time but I calculate for better luck in Japan. As for oil, we have sufficient to use in the binnacle. We have taken but two whale this side of the Cape which made us 30 bls. We saw plenty of whale in 185 West Lat. 8 North, but the weather was so very rugged that we could not save whale, so directed our course for this place, which I hope soon to leave as we have been here almost a month. Been ashore almost every day. We have got plenty of sweet potatoes which cost 2\$ per barrel. Plenty of cabbage and some other kinds of garden sauce.

Benjamin Prosseter, of Killingsworth, is in here in the *Phoenix*—1,000 bls. Roderic Strong is here in the *Alexander*—1700. Alfred and Hillias Pratt are in here in the *Plowboy*—1200. As for our crew, there has four left us since we have been here. Two they have brought on board in Irons, the

other two they will not trouble. The cook is now on shore in the Staunton and we are waiting for the Chanachens to bring him down. The one that stops here is from Haddam, by the name of Hubbard.

Jno and Chauncey will not write because we have so little oil, but we have the more slayrides to have, that's all.

Them pigs that I wrote you about, if you 'don't come for them soon will be roasted.

I think it is time your cattle were turned out to grass. If you go fishing for shad I hope you'll not forget your errand, but taking a few shad by the neck will not compare to killing the monstrous whale, notwithstanding she often cuts dirt with our feeble boats, knocking us sky high with her ponderous flukes.

Tell Alanson it is time to stop sawing, if he goes afishing to plow and get his business so as to leave his family.

I have received no news from you since I left. If I don't receive a line from you by the Globe or Maria you'll not expect to hear any more of my slack till I come with my bodily presence.

Be so good as to write me a little of everything. Should any of my acquaintances think of writing don't discourage them. I should have wrote several letters had I time but the ship is not full and the chance of passage uncertain and but a few moments since I thought of writing.

I must now leave writing, wishing you to give my due respects to my parents and brother, with other respective friends.

N. B.—This I put on board of Ship Iris of Newbedford, which will be as speedy as any opportunity I know of now.

Worahoo, one of the Sandwich Islands.

Dated April 11th, A. D. 1823.

E. Wright.

Addressed,

Samuel Wright,

Saybrook,

in Connecticut.

Written on back,

Rec'd 17th April, 1824.

IV.

North Pacific Ocean, Ship Enterprise,

May, 1823.

Dear Brother:

With a kind of indifference I take pen and ink to write a line which will serve rather as history than a letter as the passage at best will be long as the ship is not full by which I send—but may inform you when it comes to hand that I am well. As for success in our line of business we rank among the middling. We were nine months out with but about 30 bbls. of oil. On leaving the Sandwich Islands we were mated with the ship Phoenix of Nantucket and we have taken 31 sperm whale and 17 of them to our ship and ten of them to the boat that I and Jno. belonged to, though the largest of the ten made 250 bbls. the whole amount to both ships is 1700 bbls. We have been as far west as the 149th degree of E. Long., found the most of our fish in 153 or 4 E. and 323 N. lat. The 11 of June we discovered a reef of rocks which have not been heard of before, not being laid down in any map or chart. They were discovered just at night. It was perfectly calm and we had whale on board so that we did not go to them that night and before morning we drifted out of sight of them. We heard by the Lydia that the ship Ganges of New York saw the same one. This coast is entirely unexplored except by whale men and well it may be as it is the most out of the way place there is in God's creation.

Now we are returning to the Sandwich Isl. to recruit, being in latitude 33 N. Long. 160 West. We are calculating to part from the Phoenix in a few days, as she is bound into the Spanish coast for provisions.

I have received no particular news from you since I left Scrap Island more than 12 months since. We spoke the ship Globe the 31st of Aug.—all well—450 bbl. Jno. received a letter by Wm. Lay who I was much disappointed to see. He

told me that David Wright was around the Horn in the Atavia of Scrap I.

As to the business of whaling I should like it well could we find them plenty enough—the voyages are generally healthy—our crew has been highly favored, although we have lost one man by accident by the name of Daniel C. Reeve of Chatham, son of Enoch Reeve. The circumstance as follows: On the 14th of July we had whale on board and were boiling in the morning just before daylight as he was turning some raw oil into the try pots he made a misstep and fell backwards into the deck pot which then contained about three or four barrels of oil hot enough to melt lead. He was instantly taken out and everything applied that the ship afforded for his benefit. His body was almost one solid blister. He soon became delirious and on the 19th came slyly on deck just after dusk and jumped overboard, the ship going six knots an hour, but we saw him and reached him closely. The sudden change seemed to have a bad effect upon him and made him worse and on the 22d of July he died, aged about 25 years. So we daily have evidence of the mortality of man.

I have heard the melancholy news of Aunt Hannah's death and likewise Mrs. Burdett and others.

What news I have received I had by John's and Chauncey's letters. I was much disappointed that I had none from you. I received but little information by Lay and Ingham. They said nothing but that you were well. I shall anxiously look for letters by every late sail ship, but if you are disposed not to write me at all please to be so good as to come and tell me and so not expect any more waste paper for shoe patterns from me.

This ocean, the Pacific, which you have heard so much praise for its mildness and gentle manners I have seen often scould by sweeping tempests, yet the middle part of the season was pleasant, but the last was bad. Many ships suffered considerably, the Indispensable, an English ship, had two main topsails blown away, just under our lee, in a gale, and had her

try works washd overboard and some of her boats stove. The Alliance of New Bedford was upon her beam ends with her lower yards in the water for three-quarters of an hour. The Maro had five boats stove in in one gale and all her sails blown away. She had sprung her bowsprit and jib boom, fore topmast, etc. The Globe likewise had a short spat with a jimmy—lost double reef main topsail and mizzen stay sail. Many others have been kicked about roughly.

We have reached no material injury in our spars or rigging, yet we have seen many hard squalls and gales.

We have spoke the Eagle several times on the coast, so that I have seen Job often. Their ship has been considerably leaky through the voyage. Some time in July she gained leaking to six or eight hard strokes an hour, so that she took no whale. The last we spoke her was the 6th of August, her leak rather gaining she was making the best of her way to port with the golden.....to assist her in case of distress. The crew were in good spirits and I do not doubt but they will reach some port where they can repair unless they should meet heavy weather.

We have had news that oil is very low. We heard that that which we sent home from Capedeverd's (Cape Deverd Islands) was sold at 53 cts. per gal., but then we have the consolation to think our voyage will not be so speedy but will have time to rise, so you see as "poor Richard" says: "Ever bitter has its honey"—I mean sweet. I humbly hope and trust that you have finished your bog hay harvest and are nearly ready to begin sowing. After you have done that I would thank you to eat a few pears and peaches on my account and ask no questions.

P. S.—I heard that some of the young blades made a short trip into the country and came back feet foremost. Tell them that if they were dismayed at sight of hemlock that they will never do for Cape Horn and had better not enter into Scrap Island service.

I will now leave writing anxiously wishing you health and prosperity. If my parents ask after me tell them I am well and not fail to tender them my best respects; likewise remember me to Alanson & Wm. and all who inquire after

E. Wright.

To Samuel Wright.

V.

Dear Brother:

It is with pleasure that I write a short line to inform you that I received your letter the 7th of Nov., 12½ months after date. I perused it with the most heartfelt pleasure as it is the first line I have received since I left the American shores.

By your letter you seem to be very inquisitive about many things which I suppose was caused by false reports which are very common to be circulated about ships that go out of sight of land. I must satisfy your curiosity in short as I have not time to write. In the first place, I enjoy the best of health which is truly a great blessing. In short, I have got to be quite black, saucy and able. As to our living, we have plenty of provision of decent quality. When we go out of port we carry out as much vegetation as we can preserve. As to our officers, I think we have better than they average. There has been but little flogging done, of which I have had no share.

We have a good Quadrant belonging to four of us. We do not pretend to keep no regular run of the ship. We sometimes take an altitude and work an observation, yet we do not understand Luna's refraction of the heavenly bodies, corrections, etc., etc. Our officers are good navigators and always ready to inform us when we ask but when the ship is full we shall have a better opportunity. We have had a watch below ever since we passed the Brasill Banks except when we have whale or other business which makes it necessary for all hands upon deck.

The Maria arrived here the sixth of Nov. All well, 1250 bbls. of sperm oil. The Globe arrived the 7th with 500. There

was an English ship in here a few days since, 13 months from London, with 2,000 bbls. of oil.

We are now ready for sea again as soon as we find men enough to make up our crew. The natives which we carried out have left us and one man left us which we shipt at the Islands and there has two deserted which came from Conn. with us. The same two left when were in here in the spring but Capt. Weeks brought them on board again and I expect he will do it again unless he gets his complement of men beside. It has got to be quite fashionable to leave ships here but I shall not leave the ship so long as there is a timber-head left. The ship Connecticut went out four or five days past. The first Mate was on board of us after breakfast. Said his d—nd Indians would jump overboard and swim on shore faster than he could bring them off in a boat. The reason was this: they were green and the hands did not like to have them, so while they were at breakfast in the cabin they threw them overboard and told them to swim ashore. These Chanachers are as much at home when they get in the water as Alanson is when he gets in the sawmill. They make fishing a considerable branch of business. Their twine for their seines they manufacture by their fingers. They are extremely fond of fish which they often devour right from the hook without favour or affection, no time to talk about blood and bones then. The most of them live in a very filthy situation; very few of them wear any clothing but a narrow list around the middle. But I will say no more about this filthy race as I hope to leave them soon and go to sea. The Alexander is to go to sea tomorrow, wind and weather favourable. I expect to send this letter by her. I put two letters into the Sea Lion which sailed the first of Nov.

The last cruise out we went within eight or ten days' sail of China. I expect we shall have to take another look that way and I am in hopes to fill up there. I do not know but I shall see you and Alanson around here before I get back. If so, I advise you to bring many clothes with you and bring

your wives to mend them. However, I believe I have plenty. Had I taken ten \$ worth of knives they would have answered 50. As for hats, I have lost several. If you hear of anybody that is going to Tarpolin Cove tell them to ask for my hats as they have no doubt gone there.

P. S.—I hope you have more letters on the way. This will be at Saybrook about June or July. It will not be of use for you to write around the Cape. I hope not after you receive this for I shall make no promises to come another voyage to get the letters that you wrote this. Should we fill up on Jappan perhaps we might return round the East Cape. It would make our passage three months shorter but I expect it is more dangerous passing that way without arms and we have none. We were obliged to fire a rope-yarn gun at the celebration of Independence.

When you have done reading this letter you will see where there is no blackguard there is blots. 12 o'clock at night. So I remain
E. Wright.

Addressed to

Mr. Samuel Wright, of
Saybrook in
Connecticut.

Rec'd 23d May, 1824.

VI.

Off Nantucket Bar, Wednesday, Aug. 28, A. D. 1822.

Dear Brother:

After a short absence from you I take this opportunity to write a few lines to you which will inform you that I am well and hope this will find you and yours enjoying the same great and good blessing.

Since I have been on salt water I have been very hearty the most of the time. We had a good run from Saybrook. We came over the bar Saturday at five o'clock P. M. and anchored off Nantucket bar Sunday morn, being 16 hours run. We lie about four miles off. A boat's crew go on shore almost

every night and return the next day. Capt. Weeks has been on shore the most of the time since we arrived. Capt. Barnet took charge of the ship for two weeks. But now our first mate, Franklin Hussey, is on board as Mr. Jay is not able to go the voyage. Mr. Foldien & Previe & Hillman are better. Job Turner is very feeble yet. It is not much likely that he will be able to go with us. James Gardner has given up the voyage since we arrived here. We have our cargoe mostly on board. There is one liter more to come. We expect to sail the first of next week if not before. Three ships have sailed since we have arrived here, viz: the Frances, the Queen, the Lydia. The last news received from the ships at sea was very dull from all quarters. There was scarce any full. Some that had been out for four years had but four hundred & fifty barrels. Oil is now worth about one dollar per gal, there being but little in at this time.

We are now ready for plowing. I think you must have done mowing and now should be ready for sowing after making a little new cider.

There has been no vessel in from Saybrook or Killingsworth as I could learn so I have had no news from home, or at least from Saybrook and consequently have had no opportunity of writing unless by the mail and so delayed untill now, daily expecting vessels in from that quarter. Should your letter not be forwarded so that I receive it before we sail you must write to me next spring as there will be ships going out. I should be very glad to see you, with many others, but as that is not to be expected I should be glad to receive a letter from you and you will be so good as to write me respecting friends and relatives.

Perhaps you would like to know my mind about returning. I still think I shall abide in the ship for home is a fool to this place. I am as contented and happy as a toad under the harrow. I have regained my health and flesh far beyond my expectations.

If Dr. Crane has absconded from Saybrook information may

be had of him (or a man answering his appearance according to the best of my memory) on board the ship Enterprise. On Friday, the 25th of Aug., a man came on board styling himself F. H. but imitates the said Dr. in every particular except his great memory and a small depreciation of stature.

As for Clothing I shall take about 100 or 50\$ here which I think will be sufficient for the voyage should life be spared to prosecute the same. But if my all-wise Creator otherwise thinks best that my unhappy life should end upon the raging sea, weep not for me. Death is the fate of Mortal man. Then your Brother's sorrows cease to flow. Then shall the storm of wo be husht to silence and I at rest, wrapt in the seaman's common Tomb.

John is very hearty and appears to be quite contented with his new way of living, grows fatter every day, and Spencer is likewise tolerable well. He has pain in his breast but is better. The rest of the crew are all well except those before mentioned. And all think there is no business to be compared with whaling. All hands anxious to be ravaging the Pacific with oars and Irons and drag the whale to Justice, I mean to our Ship.

But as time and paper fail and I apprehend Patience will do the same while reading, I shall close the unentelligible scroll and bid you farewell.

P S—As opportunities will not be very frequent of communciation I wish you to write as often as twice a year, if not oftener. Some of the letters will probably reach me. I shall not be able to write to as many friends as I should be glad, so I shall write you every opportunity, so give my love to Honored parents and brothers and all enquiring friends, and I shall ever subscribe myself,

Your most affectionate Brother and friend.

E. W.

to Samuel Wright.

Sunday, the 31st. This letter is wrote but not sealed. If I

had received your letter before I should have written different. I don't expect to have time to write another, as we go to sea tomorrow and our decks are half mast high with casks.

E.

(Addressed to Mr. Samuel Wright
of Westbrook
In Connecticut.

(Rec'd 11th Sept)

DIARY OF REVEREND JASON LEE—III.

Friday Sep. 19, 1834. Daniel and Myself are now on the bank of the Willamette River a little distance from Mr. McKay's* place.

Wednesday expected that the Brig would come up to Vancouver and we should receive our goods there but the want of wind prevented her coming up. Went on board just at night and ascertained that we could not get them until the cargo was taken out. Slept on board and walked to the Fort 3 mi. in the morning and commenced preparations for a trip up the Willamette. Dr. Mc made all the necessary preparations of men boat food &c. and we were off about 4. O'clock. Camped upon the sand. Started early this morning and came to the mouth of the W. and found the Brig there. Took breakfast on board. Waited while Capts Lambert, Wyeth & Thing explored the vicinity in search of a place to suit their business, but the[y] could find none to please them. Left them with the expectation that they will unload some of their goods and ours at or near the place where they now are. Arrived $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1—O'Clock.

Sat. Sep. 20, 1834. Yesterday rode over Mr. McKay's place. The soil is sandy, light, and poor. The corn killed by frost potatoes light crop, wheat and peas tolerably good. Do not think such land will answer our purpose. This morning examined piece of ground on the opposite side of the creek [Scappoose] good soil timber in the vicinity and would make a tolerable farm but it is but a few feet above high water mark & in the spring is surrounded by water and I fear subject to frost, and Fever & ague. There is plenty of grass for cattle in all directions and the horses and horned cattle on the farm look exceedingly well. The superintendent a Canadian showed us the utmost attention and kindness. Started 9 h. 30 m. to

* In the vicinity of Scappoose, Columbia county, of the present day.

proceed up the River. Nearly all the land for some mi. is overflowed in high water. Passed over a ridge covered mostly with a large species of fir, some white maple hemlock ash black cherry & cedar.

Sunday, Sep. 21. Daniel being unwell I was anxious to reach the settlement and we reached the river and camped. Some of the settlers came over to see us.

Mon. Sep. 22, 1834. Came along the river or a little distance from it about 12 mi. to Mr. Irannie's,* called at the houses of the inhabitants who were very glad to see us. Most of the men are Canadians with native wives. The land seems good but the season has been too dry; the crops in this plain have been better than those lower down the river. Here we found Mr. Smith (Solomon Howard) teaching half breeds. He is an American who came from Boston with Capt. Wyeth. At supper we were treated to a fine dish of Canadian soup, exc[e]lent pork and beaver and bread made of flour without bolting and as fine mus[k]mellons as I ever tasted. Our tent was pitched in the mellon bed and we slept there and found it very convenient in the morning.

Tues. Sep. 23, 1834.—Started early this morning and rode some 3 or 4 mi. up the river to examine the land; found an excellent place for a farm above all the settlers. Returned to the lower farms and went on foot 3 mi. to see a plain where Capt. W. has chosen a farm.

Wednes. Sep. 24, 1834. Prairie Du Sable on the bank of the Willamette. Fog dense; cannot see a man two rods. Good health, plenty food &c., but my mind is greatly exercised with regard to the place of location. Could I but know the identicle place that the Lord designs for us be it where it may even a thousand mi. in the interior it would be a matter of great rejoicing. Only God direct us to the right spot where we can best glorify Thee and be most useful to these degraded red men. P. M. did not find the horses till nearly noon. Came about 11 or 12 mi. and are on a beautiful prairie but know not the distance to the River W. This plain would I think make

a fine farm but it is probably too far from the river. There are 30 Indians old and young a few rods from us and some of the men even are as naked as they were born, a filthy, miserable looking company and yet they seem quite contented. They subsist mostly on cammas. Probably more than in this vicinity have fallen a sacrifice to the fever and ague within 4 years.

Thurs. Sep. 25, 1834. Started 8 h. and came over bad road very slow to the fall of the Willamette and thence to the Clackamass River, forded it and crossed the prairie which we wished to see but think it will not answer our purpose.

Left the prairie and forced our way a mile to the Willamette through a swamp thickly timbered and covered with underbrush. Saw some Indians a little above us, came up and are camped upon the sand near them. My mind is yet much exercised in respect to our location. I know not what to do.

Friday, 26.—Sent the horses to Mr. McKay's place and hired two Indians to take us to Vancouver in a canoe, expected to reach there tonight but the wind and tide being against us we were forced to camp.

Satur., 27.—Arrived at the Fort 9 h., found our brethren well. After mature deliberation on the subject of our location and earnest prayer for divine direction I have nearly concluded to go to the W. .

Sun. 28 Sep., 1834.—A. M. assayed to preach to a mixed congregation—English, French, Scotch, Irish, Indians, Americans, half breeds, Japanese, &c., some of whom did not understand 5 words of English. Found it extremely difficult to collect my thoughts or find language to express them but am thankful that I have been permitted to plead the cause of God on this side of the Rocky Mountains where the banners of Christ were never before unfurled. Great God grant that it may not be in vain but may some fruit appear even from this feeble attempt to labour for Thee.

Evning.—Preached again but with as little liberty as in the morning but still I find it is good to worship God in the

public congregation. My Father in heaven, I give myself to thee; may I ever be thine and wholly thine, always directed by thine unerring council and ever so directed as to be most beneficial in the world and bring most glory to the most high that I may at last be presented without spot and blameless before the Throne.

Mon., Sep. 29, 1834.—This morning began to make preparations in good earnest for our departure to the W. and after dinner embarked in one of the company's boats kindly maned [manned] for us by Dr. McLoughlin who has treated us with the utmost politeness, attention and liberality. The gentlemen of the fort accompanied us to the boat and most heartily wished us great success in our enterprise. Arrived at the lower mouth of the W. where Capt. Wyeth's brig is, late in the evening.

Tues. 30.—Received a load of our goods from Capt. Lambert and left the rest in his charge to be sent to the fort. Breakfasted and dined with Capt's Lambert and Thing. Left late in the day and camped a few mi. up the river on the point of a small island, the only place we could find for some miles where we could get the boat ashore. To the W. we have concluded to go. O, my God go with us for unless thy presence go with us we will not go up, for it will be in vain.

Wednes. Oct. 1, 1834.—This morning put Bros. D. Lee and Edwards on shore to go to Mr. McKay's place to get horses and we pursued our course up the river. Met Capt. Wyeth on his return from his farm and shall not see him again til summer. Camped on a small prairie about 9 mi. from the falls and found here the men which the Dr. had sent with the cattle. He has lent us 8 oxen, 8 cows and 8 calves. Find my mind more calm than when in a state of suspense about our location.

Thurs., Oct. 2.—Did not take breakfast til very late, being desirous if possible to ascend a little to the Indian village that I might engage them to assist us in carrying our load and boat which we were unable to carry by the fall. The old chief

came but not with men enough to carry the boat. We carried some of the goods by and part remain at the landing. Find myself very weary.

Fri. 3.—Slept verry well upon the bags of flour. The Indians came to receive payment for their labour and it was indeed a perplexing business to know how to pay them according to their work. Despairing of geting the boat past the falls we engaged two Indians with cannoes to go up with us and by means of an old can[n]oe we were enabled to take all and proceed a few mi. and are camped where it is difficult to find a place to sleep except on small stones.

Sat., 4 Oct.—Arrived at Mr. McKay's landing 1 o'clock, found Br's D. Lee & Edwards there with the horses; put them into the cannoes and came on horseback to Mr. Jerrais [Gervais]. He is not yet returned from the fort but is expected tonight.

Mon., 6 Oct.—Yesterday remained at Mr. Jerrais', did little except read my Bible a little, my mind barren and unfruitful. Early this morn in company with Mr. Jerrais went to examine land farther up than I had before been but concluded to land a short distance above the upper house on the W. Landed safe a little before night.

Sat., 11 Oct., 1834.—We have been engaged preparing tools, fencing a pasture for calves, drying goods, &c., which were wet coming up the river. Some things sustained a little damage but nothing of consequence. Have for the first time been employed in making an ox yoke and succeeded beyond my expectation having no pattern.

Sun., 12 Oct.—Many of the inhabitants came to see us and remained for hours conversing about various things in the Canadian tongue.

I understand some of their conversation but not enough to converse on religious subjects, hence I found their visit long. Have concluded to preach the ensuing Sabbath at Mr. Jerrais', though the congregation will consist mostly of persons who will not understand the discourse.

Sun., 19 Oct.—Made a few remarks from these words: “Turn ye from your evil ways,” to a mixed assembly, few of whom understood what I said but God is able to speak to the heart.

Sunday, Nov. 9, 1834.—Five weeks tomorrow since we landed here and our house not yet completed. Four weeks our goods were sheltered by our tent the last of which it rained most of the time, and ourselves by a borrowed one very small and inconvenient. We have been constantly employed and frequently obliged to retire early in the evening with our clothes wet to prevent being drenched in rain and yet we have enjoyed uninterrupted good health during the whole time, though we were far from being comfortable in many respects.

We have *laboured hard* during the week and walked two miles on Sabbath and laboured hard to instruct the few who understand us, in the things that pertain to their spiritual peace. I thank God for the mercies shown us collectedly and for the blessings I have enjoyed while labouring with my hands for him.

* * * *

August 18, 1837.—It is now nearly three years since I have kept any record of the dealings of God with me, or of the events that have transpired around me. Indeed I have written exceedingly little during my life, except what I have been *impelled* to write by the imperious hand of *duty*. Hence I have kept no journal except while crossing the Rocky Mountains. And, indeed, such is my aversion to writing that when my time is chiefly occupied in worldly business, and in manual labour (as has been the case the three past years) it is even a *burden* to sit down to write a letter on business, or answer one of a friend. But when I have become a little familiarized to it by practice it is comparatively easy. Had I kept a regular memorandum the three years past, I could have recorded little in reference to my *own* conduct, that would have afforded pleasure and satisfaction, to *myself*, in the review; or that I should be willing to exhibit to *others*, for their *imita-*

tion. Yet many things might have been recorded that would most strikingly have illustrated the goodness of God to me. I think I may safely say concerning my own conduct, that the more prominent features, or rather the general outlines of the picture, have been such as be ; would be ; in the main, approved of by even the judicious.

But, the *filling up*, the FILLING UP, there is the difficulty. I know full well, that the main object I have kept in view has been the glory of God in the salvation of souls, and having judged it expedient under existing circumstances to employ much of my time in manual labour, I pursued it with that diligence and energy for the first twelve months which I have reason to believe superinduced the intermittent fever.

* * * *

North Fork Platte River, July 28, 1838.—The above paragraph was written in the wilderness, between the Willamette and the Pacific, when on a journey to the latter, with Bro. Shepard for the benefit of our health, accompanied by our companions, and a neighbor. I wrote the above with the intention of taking notes for the rest of the journey. Was obliged to break off suddenly to move on, and being rather feeble, I did not resume my pen. I have since kept no journal except for a few days when on a trip to Umpqua. The trip to the Pacific had a beneficial effect upon my debilitated system, which had then been suffering more than a year and a half from the effects of the intermittent fever. I still, however, continued feeble during the fall and winter ; unable to take any violent exercise without sensible injury. During the winter I nearly despaired regaining my wonted health if I remained in that climate.

The 16th Feb. I set out for Umpqua and after 23 days of toil and hardship reached home in safety, and after a few days rest found myself rather better for the trip. This was encouraging, considering the difficulties encountered such as being drenched in rain many times, fording creeks high enough

to wet our feet, sleeping in wet clothes and blankets, very bad roads and sometimes hard marching, &c.

The subject of the necessity of some one of the Mission Family visiting the U. S. had been agitated during the winter and it was at length decided by a majority that it was expedient for *me* to go. Previous to leaving for Umpqua, I had written Dr. McLoughlin, requesting a passage in the Company's boats, with himself, by the Hudson Bay route. This I greatly preferred to the route I came, as less fatiguing, less dangerous, better calculated to restore my debilitated system, and much more likely to afford new, interesting and useful information. The answer was near when I left and was to be brought me by a man who was to overtake us the second day, but by mistake he sent it to my house, hence I did not get it till my return. The Dr. could not grant my request, and expressed himself "doubly mortified"; because he could not do me the favour, and should also be deprived of my company. Such was my aversion to this route and so great were my fears that the fatigue would be too much for my strength that I inclined to stay at home, if the Dr. gave a negative answer, and had determined if that was the case, to abandon the trip to Umpqua, for the present, and return and prepare communications, and not go to the U. S. myself. Hence I was greatly disappointed at being kept in suspense so long, but it was no doubt Providential. On my return finding I could not go with the Dr. and feeling very much fatigued from the immediate effects of my journey and rather leaning to the opinion that it was hardly justifiable, for me to leave my post without permission from the Board, unless there was a prospect of benefiting my health (the opinion of most of the Brethren to the contrary notwithstanding). I endeavored to persuade myself that it was not duty to go, under existing circumstances, and tried to compose myself to represent the circumstances and wants of the Mission as well as I could by writing. The time previous to the departure of the express was too limited to do anything like justice to the subject and indeed, there seemed to be several things

which I despaired of ever being able to represent with that clearness, and force, which their importance demanded, except in person. In the meantime Messrs. Ewing & Edwards resolved to try this route, though there was no certainty of a party, going from Fort Hall to the American Rendezvous, and no certainty where it would be. The society of these gents, I saw at once, would obviate a good deal of the anticipated loneliness and make the journey much more pleasant and agreeable, and hence a much greater prospect of benefiting my health, was opened up. These things, together with the firm conviction of many of the brethren, that it was my duty to go; and many other weighty considerations; if they did not remove all my objections, finally counterbalanced them, and I became satisfied that my *Master* called, and that *duty* required me to leave *home* and *wife* and *friends* and retrace my steps to the land of civilization.

I had but two or three days to make preparations and of course everything was done with the utmost dispatch. I had witnessed some trying scenes before, had passed through some that were considered by myself and others to be *most* trying; but still there remained one to be experienced of which few are calculated to be adequate judges; for few, very few indeed, have ever been called to part with friends under such unusual and almost inconceivably *delicate* circumstances. For me to attempt to portray it upon paper, would be vain, but suffice it to say: that the impression is indelibly fixed upon my mind and will doubtless remain vivid while fond memory retains her seat.

July 30.—On a small creek 35 from Ft. Wm. We do not move camp today, and I purpose to employ a part of the day in noting a few reminiscences of self and days gone by (if rheumatism in my right elbow does not prevent) the perusal of which may be gratifying at some future day if life should be spared.

Like most others in my early youth I looked forward with glowing interest to that hour when ripening manhood should

qualify me to woo a beautiful, wise and lovely daughter of Eve, and ultimately call her my *own*. In early life, I admitted the full force of the assertions of holy writ, that "it is not good for man to be alone," and was fully satisfied that the man who was destitute of a helpmate, to whom he could give, heart and hand, and who would, without reserve, reciprocate his affections, was wanting what was better calculated to smooth the ragged path of life, lessen its ills and increase its pleasures, than anything els[e] of an earthly nature, that this world, with all its pomp and show, can possibly afford; and for which, man with all his diligence and assiduity can never find a substitute. With these truths deeply engraven on my heart, I grew up from youth to manhood; my imagination often adverted to the conjugal felicity that I fondly anticipated would at no very distant period be all my own. I always despised domestic brawling, and felt especially indignant at that man who could tyrannize over an innocent, lovely and defenceless female, and could scarcely avoid looking with detestation upon that woman who was ever grasping after the authority of the husband, and then always seeking to exhibit her prowess, in browbeating him on all occasions. I have generally been disposed to fix the heaviest censure upon the man, for all the domestic broils and disorder that occur in ordinary cases, believing it to be in his power to introduce and maintain a system that will in most cases secure harmony, order and peace in the family circle. But I am now fully convinced that it is a rare thing under the sun to see peace and harmony existing under that roof, where the all-transforming influences of the gospel of peace do not prevail. Such is the ignorance of human kind, that the wisest are liable to err at every turn; hence many will most *honestly* differ in opinion, with their best friends, and each, it may be, with equal sincerity, maintain opposite sides of the same question, utterly astonished that the other does not yield the point, and not being able to comprehend how another can see things so differently from himself; and being actuated by the principle of pride, which is always prompting us to

justify self and attribute dishonest motives to those who differ from us, he is not unfrequently led to the conclusion that it is wilful stubbornness that induces his opponent to maintain so zealously what appears to him so manifestly absurd. Hence hard feelings are engendered, a quarrel frequently ensues, and alienation of affections is the consequence. If in the absence of the religion of Jesus Christ, such things are *unavoidable*, even among those who wish to be honest, what shall we say of those haughty, domineering spirits who are determined to carry their own point, *right* or *wrong*? But where the religion of the Bible is mutually enjoyed, *there* is such a spirit of unbounded charity, and constant forbearance, that no difficulty can arise but what may be amicably adjusted and even difficulties shall tend to unite more closely those hearts which beat in unison and whose interests are one.

But to return from this digression. It was my intention to choose one from the same condition of life with myself, and though I did not intend to yield that authority which the God of nature has given to man to love the woman, yet I was determined to make my wife my *companion*, and to spare no pains to make her comfortable and happy; and never give her reason to regret that she had united her interests with mine, placed her person and her all under my controul, and confided in me for protection and support. I did not therefore think myself justified in marrying until I had a fair prospect of maintaining a wife comfortably at least by industry and economy.

But being thrown upon the world at the age of 13, without money, to provide for all my wants, by my own industry, I found as years rolled on it was not the work of a day to place myself in those circumstances, which I thought desirable, previous to taking what I viewed as the most important step of life. At the age of 23, however, I began seriously to think of settling upon some spot of earth which I could call my own, and of looking about for her who was to be the solace of future years.

But he who seeth, not as man seeth had otherwise determined. Thus far I had lived without hope and without God in the world, but now, the spirit, which I had so often grieved, again spoke to my conscience, and in language not to be mistaken, warned me of my danger. I saw, I believed, I repented, I resolved to break of[f] all my sins by righteousness and my iniquities by turning unto the Lord; and if I perished, I would perish at the feet of Jesus, pleading for mercy. I saw the fullness of the plan of salvation, cast away my unbelieving fears—believed in, and gave myself to Christ—and was ushered into the liberty of the Children of God. I was *now*, by my own *consent*, the property of another, and his glory and not my own gratification, must be the object of my pursuit. Years after years passed away; which I spent successively in business, in study and in preaching, until I reached the age of 30, still retaining the same views in reference to marriage, and still, for *conscience* sake, remaining single, being fully persuaded that it was my *duty* so to do. Previous to this I had consented to cross the R. Mountains, to labour among the Indians of Oregon. This was considered an experiment, and by many, many, an extremely hazardous one, and it was rightly deemed impracticable for females to accompany pioneers on an expedition shrouded in so much darkness and fraught with so many difficulties. I was fully aware, even if we succeeded in our enterprise that years must elapse before we could be reinforced by females, and therefore, resolved to make no engagements with any, previous to leaving the civilized world, which resolution was most sacredly kept. After establishing upon the Willamete, I made the best shift I could without female assistance, and though I felt more sensibly than it is possible for a man to feel, in the enjoyment of civil society, that it is not good for a man to be alone, yet I did not murmur, or perplex myself about it; believing that if God saw that it was for my good, and his glory, he would prepare the way for me to change my condition. In our first reinforcement in the summer of 1837 there were three single ladies, one of which was not en-

gaged. I had seen her before in N. Y. City, but was not at all favourably impressed with her personal appearance, and least of all, did I think she would ever become my wife; even when I was informed by letter that she was coming to Oregon, and on my first interview with her there, my prejudices remained the same. I was told that she was sent out on purpose for me, and that she had come with the expectation that I would marry her (this however was a gratuitous assertion), and was asked if I intended to do it. I stated my principles in reference [to] marriage and then replied, that though a lady should travel the world over in order to become my wife, yet I could never consent to marry her, unless, upon *acquaintance* I should become satisfied, that, that step would be conducive to our mutual happiness and the glory of God. Upon reflection, I was convinced that she was not a lady that I should have fancied for a wife (there is no accounting for people's *fancies*) though I esteemed her as a lady of deep piety and good sense; but thought I, perhaps, he who looketh not upon the outward appearance but upon the heart, has chosen her as far better calculated to increase the joys and lessen the sorrows of life, than one that my *fancy* would have prompted me to choose; and indeed I was convinced that fancy should have little to do with the matter but that judgment, alone, under the influence of an enlightened conscience should examine and decide the question; and here I rested the subject, until personal acquaintance should enable me to make a judicious decision, whether it was proper to make proposals to her or not. After having formed a pleasing acquaintance and mutually exchanged feeling on the subject, I at length became convinced that she was eminently qualified to do all the duties and kind offices of an affectionate companion, and was worthy of my highest regards, esteem and love, and that it was the will and design of our Father in heaven that we twain should become one flesh, as a step, conducive to our mutual happiness and his glory. With these views I made proposals of marriage and received for answer the following:

"Yes, where thou goest I will go,
With thine my earthly lot be cast ;
In pain or pleasure, joy or woe,
Will I attend thee to the last.

That hour shall find me by thy side,
And where thy grave is, mine shall be ;
Death can but for a time divide,
My firm and faithful heart from thee.

Thy people and thy charge be mine,
Thy God, my God shall ever be ;
All that I have receive as thine,
My heart and hand I give to thee.

And as through life we glide along,
Through tribulation's troubled sea ;
Still let our faith in God be strong,
And confidence unshaken be.

(Signed) ANNA MARIA.

Ruth 1, 16, 17.

The following Sabbath which was the 16th of July, had been previously appointed for our first public communion in Oregon, and Brother Shepard had determined to be married on the morning of that day in the public congregation, believing it would have a beneficial influence upon those who were living with native women, without the ceremony of marriage.

Miss Pitman and I concluded that we would lead the way ; but this we kept a profound secret from all except my nephew, who was to do the business.

We were fully aware that this was a step that every member of the Mission Family was very anxious we should take, yet they had no idea that it would be so soon, and no *evidence* that it would ever be.

Miss P. aided in preparing the supper, and all went to Mr. Shepard's credit. The morning of the 16th came, it was a

lovely morn; and at the hour appointed for public worship the whole Mission Family consisting of seven males and five females, Missionaries, and assistants, and between 20 & 30 children, Indians and half breeds, repaired to a beautiful grove of firs 40 rods in front of the Mission House where were assembled nearly every white man in the settlement with their native wives and children all neatly clad in European manufacture besides a goodly number of Indians. There sheltered from the scorching rays of the sun, under the umbrage of these firs and fanned by the gentle zephyrs that seemed at once to calm and sooth and exhilarate the spirit; and dispose it to a devotional frame; we commenced the solemn exercises of the day by reading and singing a hymn of praise, and fervently addressing the throne of grace, while every knee bent in the attitude of supplication, and we trust many prayers came up as memorials before God.

I then arose and addressed them in substance as follows: My beloved Friends and Neighbors, More than two years have rolled into eternity and bourne their report of the manner in which we have spent them; since God in his providence cast my lot among you. During this period I have addressed you many times and on various subjects, and I trust that you bear me witness this day, that I never have, in any one instance, advised you to [do] that which is *wrong*; but, that I have, on all occasions, urged you to cease to do evil, and learn to do well. And I have frequently addressed you in no measured terms upon the subject of the holy institution of marriage and endeavored to impress you, with the importance of that duty. It is an old saying, and a true one, that example speaks louder than precept and I have long been convinced that if we would have others practice what we recommend, circumstances being equal, we must set them the example. And now, my friends, I intend to give you unequivocal proof that I am willing, in this respect, at least, to practice what I have so often recommended to you.

I then stepped forward and led Miss P. to the altar. Surprise,

seemed to be depicted upon almost every countenance. The ceremony over, I seated the bride and then united Mr. & Mrs. Shepard, also a white man to a native woman. After which I preached a long discourse from, "Come with us and we will do you good, for the Lord hath spoken good concerning Israel," with more than usual liberty. The subject *thrilled* and many tears, bore ample testimony that the hearers were not past *feeling*; and even the furrowed cheeks of some who did not understand the language spoken were not destitute of moisture on that occasion. The sermon ended, I read and explained the rules of our society, and then Baptised the young man just married and received him into the church.

Rev. D. Lee then read the lessons appointed for the administration of the Lord's supper, said the consecrating prayer and invited all who truly loved our Lord Jesus Christ to come forward and partake of the consecrated elements to their comfort; and I have seldom known the presence of the Lord more sensibly and powerfully manifested than on that occasion.

A young man* from New York who was brought up a Quaker, and who had for some months given good evidence that he was converted and had been for some time earnestly praying that his duty, in reference to Baptism, might be made plain to him, came forward and begged to be Baptised, and received into the Church, that he might have the privilege of partaking of the Lord's Supper. This done, a love feast, or rather a feast of love followed. Every member of the Church brought in, testimony for the Lord, and bore witness to the truth, excellency and importance of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Several of the neighbours, mostly Roman Catholics, spoke of their past wickedness and of their desire to lead better lives and save their souls. The exercises closed by singing and prayer. My health being extremely delicate, as was to be expected, I found myself greatly fatigued, by the excessive labours of the day, but felt thankful and happy that my strength had been exhausted in the service of God.

* Webley Hauxhurst.

Thus commenced a new era in my life and I began an experimental acquaintance with that state, of the happiness of which I had long been favourably impressed. Eight months elapsed previous to my leaving for this trip, and our affections for each other had been increasing, and our souls always beat in unison; insomuch, that there was seldom the slightest difference, even in opinion, in reference to any subject that we had occasion to discuss. Not a cross look ever ruffled our countenances, not an unkind word ever escaped our lips, and not a hard feeling ever disturbed the tranquility of our souls, during that period. The most perfect harmony and unanimity subsisted between us, and we were always happy in the enjoyment of each other's society. At length, however, imperative duty seemed to demand a separation. Painful in the extreme, was the thought of leaving *such* a companion, and especially, of leaving her in the most delicate circumstances possible; she having already six months of her pregnancy.

And if the thought of it was so painful to *me*, what must it be to *her*? Who would not have expected to see womanish weakness exhibited to its full extent under such circumstances? And doubtless she felt, and felt most sensibly upon the subject; for I can not conceive it possible for one so circumstanced not to feel; yet she had learned in the school of Christ: that personal inclinations and interests must always give place to duty; hence she confided in the arm of the Almighty for protection and support, and did not so much as attempt to dissuade me from leaving her. And where is the husband, similarly situated but must admire the noble heroism and moral dignity exhibited in the following declaration: "I will not take it upon me to *advise* either way; and I will not put myself in the way of the performance of your duty; but if you think it *duty* to go, go, for I did not marry you to hinder, but rather to aid you in the performance of your duty."

The circumstances of the parting scene I need not mark down with ink and paper in order to assist my memory, for

it is too deeply engraven on the tablet of my heart to be easily erased.

A short time before I left she presented me the following:

Must my dear companion leave me,
Sad and lonely here to dwell?
If 'tis duty thus that calls thee,
Shall I keep thee? No, farewell;
Though my heart aches
While I bid thee thus farewell.

Go thou loved one, God go with thee
To protect and save from harm;
Though thou dost remove far from me
Thou art safe beneath that arm;
Go in peace then,
Let thy soul feel no alarm.

Go, thy Saviour will go with thee,
All thy footsteps to attend;
Though you may feel anxious for me,
Thine and mine he will defend;
Fear not, husband,
God thy Father is, and friend.

Rocks and mountains may divide us,
Streams of water too will flow;
Time to me will seem most tedious,
And the hours will move too slow,
Thus divided,
Oh, what cares my breast will know.

Go and seek for fellow labourers,
Tell them that the field is white:
God will show them many favours,
While they teach the sons of night;
Bid them hasten,
Here to bring the Gospel light.

Though thy journey may seem dreary,
While removed from her you love;
Though you often may feel weary,
Look for comfort from above:
God will bless you
And thy—journey prosperous prove.

Farewell, husband, while you leave me,
Tears of sorrow oft will flow;
Day and night will I pray for thee,
While through dangers you may go:
Oh, remember,
Her who loves you much: Adieu.

Jason Lee

Anna Maria Lee.

Some might imagine that there is, in the above, a tinge of melancholy and feminine softness, or weakness that ill comports with the firmness of the Christian, but I am inclined to think, that neither the spirit of religion, or true philosophy would exclude feeling, even delicate and intense emotions, on such occasion. Stupidity or stoicism alone would dictate it. There may be much feeling where there is perfect submission, and a firm trust in the promises of God.

On the morning of the 25th of March we parted, to see each other no more, for, at least a year and a half; and the fact, that there was no prospect of my hearing from her during the whole time, and she from me only for three months, added poignancy to our grief, and made the pain of parting much more acute, than it otherwise would have been. If I know myself, nothing but a sense of duty would have induced me to leave under such circumstances; but it becometh the Christian, *ever* to say, not *my* will, but thine O God be done. There is one reflection which gives me exquisite pleasure in the retrospect; that is, that there was not the least thing transpired, during our intercourse with each other, that causes a blush to tinge our cheek, or gives the least pain; or that we would

hardly wish to alter, if we had it in our power to make a new edition. Would to God that I could speak thus, in reference to *all* the actions of life.

Horse Creek, on the Platte, Aug. 7, 1838. I purpose as time may serve, to put down a synopsis of our journey.

March 26, 1838. Left the Mission House on the Willamette, for the U. S. in company with P. L. Edwards, and two Indian boys, Wm. Brooks (a Chinook) and Thomas Adams.

28. Arrived at Vancouver, and found there was a mistake about the time of the party starting for the R. Mountains. We could have left two weeks later and yet have been in time.

April 4. Left Vancouver, Mr. Ewing of Mo. having joined us, in a canoe, but soon found we were too heavily laden; put ashore and hired a larger canoe of the Chinook chief. Called at the Companies Saw Mill, camped 10 mi. above it, with some Indians from the Cascades, who were on their way home.

5th. Reached the Cascades in safety though the canoe came near filling while towing it up a rapid. Rained hard, as is most always the case there. Carried our goods past and slept upon the gravel stones, rather uncomfortably; nearly everything being wet and very little wood.

6th. Arose early and with a good deal of difficulty engaged Indians enough with my help to carry the canoe across the portage. Slept above the Bluff Rocks.

7th. Procured a horse and guide from the Indians and arrived at Wascopum before noon; the canoe about an hour or two after. Found Bros. D. Lee and Perkins, well and hard at work preparing the timber for a house.

Sun. 8th. Preached to more than a hundred Indians in the Chinook jargon which was interpreted into the language of Wascopum, and then into Nez Perce. There was good attention, perhaps some good effected.

9th. After a long parley and a great deal of trouble, we engaged horses of the Is. to take us to Wallawalla, and crossed over to the north side. Was engaged writing till a late hour at night.

10th. Commenced early and finished my letters to wife and others. Broths Lee and Perkins came over and took breakfast with us; we then commended each other to God, in prayer, took the parting hand, while the former returned to take care of their Mission, the latter bent his course to the W. for his wife, and we pursued our way up the Columbia.

13th. Reached Wallawalla, with less fatigue, and better health than I expected.

14th. Went to Dr. Whitman's. The water was high in the streams. Overtook Mrs. Pamburn and daughters, and a very old woman, who crossed the mountains with Mr. Hunt,* and a grown daughter. We were obliged to cross on small trees, which bent and trembled with us so as to make it difficult to keep the center of gravity.

I thought a man who was with us and I should have enough to do to cross all stuff. I took a little girl in my arms and started across, and to my astonishment was followed by the females with larger loads than I should probably have ventured with, consisting of children, saddles, bridles, blankets, saddle bags, dogs &c., and all came safe over. The Dr. came and conducted us to the house.

Mrs. W. met us at the door, and I soon found myself seated and engaged in earnest and familiar conversation, as if we were old acquaintances.

15, Sab.—Had a very interesting time preaching to the In. while the Dr. interpreted.

16th.—Visited the In's [Indians'] Farms and was surprised that they had done so much in the absence of almost every tool necessary to do with. Some had two or three acres, wheat, peas, corn & potatoes.

17.—Started $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock A. M. on horse back, with two In. for Mr. Spalding's, a distance of a 100 mi. and arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P. M. on the 18th.

* Wilson Price Hunt in 1811.

22, Sun.—Preached to the In. Mr. S. interpreted. Mr. and Mrs. S. were very much pleased at receiving a visit from me, and I was very much gratified with the visit, and trust it was a profitable one.

23.—Took leave of these warm friends, came about 10 mi. to the river and were hindered a long time, before we could get a canoe; and it was 2 o'clock before we were across, and ready to move on. Encountered a shower of rain, which was disagreeably cold. Encamped just before dark.

24.—Started after breakfast and had a strong headwind all the forenoon, but pushed on hard and before dark found myself at Wallawalla. Distance this day at least 75 mi. Mr. Pambrun estimated it considerable more. Found myself rather weary, but slept sweetly and arose quite refreshed.

27th.—The boat from Vancouver and one from Colville arrived, and I was greatly disappointed at receiving only one note from the Willamette. Was expecting letters from all the M. Family and was very fearful, that, as they had let this opportunity pass, I should not get them at all. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

29.—Preached in English to nearly all the inmates of the Fort, but half perhaps understood little. I was careful, not to shun to declare the whole counsel of God, and an influence was felt, but I fear it was of short duration, for the gentlemen continued their business after services. I think without paying any attention to its being Sabbath.

May 2.—Having provisions, pack saddles, &c, nearly all in readiness, I went again to see the Dr. and Mrs. W.

Fri. 4.—Thinking my letters had probably arrived I started for W. and met Bro. Edwards coming with them; returned to read them. Was greatly rejoiced, and refreshed, to hear from all my friends and especially from my dear wife. How different this world, from that which is to come: *Here* we are often separated from the dearest objects of our affections, *there*, we shall have no desire unsatisfied if we are with Jesus.

5.—Read and answered letters.

6.—Preached to the Indians.

7.—Rode to Wallawalla, fixed all for the journey.

Tuesday, 8.—Received 25 horses from Mr. P., of which I had 13, Messrs. E. & E. 6 each. Packed and came about 2 mi.

9.—Crossed goods in boat and canoe, over the Wallawalla river. Horses swam.

10.—Came 10 mi. Camped on the Wallawalla R.

11.—Left camp and came to Dr. W. and met Mr. Spalding there. Had a good visit.

12.—Came to camp accompanied by Mrs. S. and Mrs. W.; it was in motion, and we passed on to the front of camp. I there remained with them till all were past, and we kneeled upon the bank of a small stream, and Mr. S. commended us to the throne of grace, we then took the parting hand, and they returned to their arduous labours; and I pensively pursued camp, thankful for the pleasing acquaintance thus formed.

13, Sun.—Should have remained over Sabbath with Dr. W. but was not willing to lose the opportunity of preaching to camp, being informed that it would not move on that day; but was greatly disappointed; the rain falling all day in such torrents, that it was not practicable.

14. Rain continued with unabated force and we did not move. Rather uncomfortable.

15.—Came to river Moreau, fell a tree and carried the baggage.

16.—Reached the Utila. Many Kioos [Indians] came to us.

17.—Remained, water too high to ford.

18. Crossed and camped.

Mr. Edwards' horse reared up in the river, fell back, and he fell under him, and with some difficulty extricated himself without injury. Mr. Ermatinger arrived from Vancouver. Though this is the 11th day since we left, yet a man could easily ride to Wallawalla in one day.

19.—Came a good march to the middle of the Blue Mountains, small plain, grass rather poor.

Mr. E. informed me he intended to march on Sun. His excuse was the grass was poor, and the horses would get lost in the woods.

20, Sunday.—Crossed the remainder of the B. M. and camped on Grand Round River.

21.—Crossed the G. R. plain and slept at the hills.

22.—Wet some things crossing a branch of Powder R. and camped. Short march.

23.—On a branch of the same. The main river is too high to ford and we are forced to go around to cross the different branches, losing at least one day.

24.—In the hills. Arose early to finish some letters to send by a free trapper who came to us two days ago; but he concluded to remain another year.

25.—On the waters of Brule.

26.—On Brule. Some trouble with a wild horse throwing his pack, &c.

27, Sun.—Did not move camp. Very hot sun succeeded by a heavy shower; was fearful it would continue all day; but at length it cleared away, and I collected the people and gave them a sermon.

28.—Camped on the river De Bullo.

29.—On Malheur.

30.—Arrived at Boise.

31.—Was engaged writing letters. Evening, crossed over to the Fort, and wrote till a late hour. Musketoos troublesome. Slept in the Fort.

June 1.—Left Fort Boise, came a few mi. to Owhyhee River; waited till the canoe arrived from the fort, crossed, and camped. Careless men upset one load.

2.—Made a good march. Camped on Snake R.

3, Sun.—Preached 1st in English, and Baptised Mr. McKay's son, Donald M. Lane! 2nd in French, talked a little, rather broken; 3rd in English.

4.—Camped on Snake R. near where we camped after making the long march when we went down. It is extremely hot, dry and dusty; but we find some excellent currents, which are a great luxury and what I little expected to find here.

5.—On a brook. Grass good.

6.—On River Bruno.

7.—On Snake, a little above where we left Mr. McKay when we went down.

8.—The same place where Mr. McK. took wife. One of our horses, which had been bled a fortnight previous, came into camp, bleeding from the wound which had not yet healed. He was poor and had been used but one day after he was bled. He seemed very weak from the loss of blood. Mr. M. K. sewed up the incision, as I thought well, but in morning of the 9th we found that he had been bleeding during the night. He was so weak that he could not go without staggering, still I resolved to try to take him on, thinking it possible for him to recover if the blood could be effectually staunched. Our road for 12 mi. lay across a plain without water, and lest he should faint by the way I took a pail of water to refresh him by the way. Carried behind with a boy and walked him gently the whole distance then left him at Snake Falls, and went on 4 mi. to camp. Never did I feel more compassion for any poor brute, or labour so hard to save one.

10, Sun.—Wm. went early and drove in the horse. Was surprised to see the tents coming down, preparations making for a move. The excuse was that provision was short. I soon learned that they intended to only [march] three hours. I was exceedingly grieved, and was at a loss to know whether it was duty to interfere or not; but at length determined to expostulate. I said we had had sufficient proof that we could make as much headway in six days by resting the seventh, as

we could to travel the whole seven; and to make the want of provision an excuse for disturbing the quiet of the holy Sabbath, and wounding the feelings of their friends, and only for three hours march, was out of the question; better say, I go, because I have a mind to go. That it was a paltry excuse and would not satisfy judicious men, much less answer at the bar of God, &c., &c., and then went away without waiting a reply, after saying, I had done what I conceived it my duty to do. I retired to my tent, and while pouring out my complaint before the Lord I heard the order given not to move camp.

The hunters, however, were sent out. Preached with little liberty to a small, sleepy and apparently indifferant congregation. Felt thankful for the privilege of declaring God's word whether men hear or whether they forbid.

11.—Messrs. Ermatinger, Edwards & M. Lane left for Fort Hall. Was convinced that our horse could not live, requested an Indian to shoot him after I should leave. I heard the report and was glad his misery was over. Made a long march and camped in same place where we camped going down, having made two of our encampments, then no running water, now a large stream.

12.—Slept on the same stream that we did the first night we reached the plain, after the sheep excursion.

13.—On Goose Creek. Bad crossing. Antelope for supper.

14.—Found the hunters at the Fountain, killed 8 antelope, a reasonable supply. Several men met us from Ft. Hall. Bad news from Mr. Grey [Gray]*, all his Indians killed and himself wounded. For the first time eat a piece of Mountain sheep, and found it good, it resembles mutton very much.

Camped on Raft River, a few rods from where Mr. Abbot, our former companion in cattle driving and another man were killed by the Indians—Snakes. They were friendly In. and probably they murdered them without their having the least previous suspicions of their intentions.

15.—Forded Rock Creek and halted for breakfast a few mi. above. Generally breakfast about 11 o'clock and take no dinner. Had a violent storm of rain and hail. Put my baggage under a shelving rock for safety and got under another myself. The water run in brooks in a few minutes. When it slacked a little I examined the baggage and found it nearly swimming in water. Our sugar was mostly wet, of course some wasted. Camp did not move, but we came on and slept a little above the American Fall.

16.—Started early, went several mi, up in order to ford Portneuf and came to F. Hall, a little post now.

17, Sun.—The camp arrived and it was a day of business; but I think no grog given. The musketoes were indeed dreadful. It was almost impossible to read at all, or even sit to eat. I expected an invitation to preach in the Fort, but no intimations of the kind being given, I requested one of the men to inform the people that if they would assemble upon the bank of the river I would preach to them; and I believe nearly all about the fort assembled in a few minutes, except, the gentlemen, so called, belonging to the company. Had a good deal of liberty in speaking, but was obliged to fight musketoes the whole time; and they were so thick that I could not see the countenances of the congregation distinctly; and it aston[ished] me to see the attention given while they must have suffered so much torment. Was thankful, for the privilege, of giving *one* faithful warning to these people, many of whom, perhaps, have not heard a sermon for many years, and some doubtless will never hear another. God alone can give the increase. The manner of life is such in these mountains that to hope to do *them* good is to hope against hope; all things are possible with God.

18, 19 & 20th.—The liquor rolled freely and I need say nothing of the scene that followed, for there is no danger of forgetting it. I will however say, that it was no worse, and hardly so bad as I expected. Was able to write a little by

driving the musketoos from the tent, and making it as tight as possible, and then stopping occasionally to kill them off.

21.—Finished my letters and made preparations to start after dinner. One of our horses was missing and I sent the boys to look for it, and told Messrs. E. & E. they had better go on to camp, which was to be only 3 or 4 mi. In the meantime Thomas' horse threw him and trod upon his knee, which swelled a good deal and the pain was extreme. By this time the camp was in motion and our horses became extremely uneasy.

I washed the knee in strong vinegar and commenced packing the horses, one ran away with the saddle on, but we managed to get all the things on, and I told Wm. to drive them to camp but when we let them loose, each took his own course and away they galloped. Thomas was in great pain, and lying outside of the Fort, no invitation having been given to take him in. I asked a Kanaka to take him in, and went in quest of the horses.

After we had collected them and got them well under way, sent Wm. with them and returned. What to do with Thomas, was now a perplexing question. I at length determined to put him upon a horse, and if possible take him to camp.

The slow motion of the horse seemed to alleviate the pain a little, and we reached camp just before dark. The lost horse still behind. This afternoon brought with more perplexity perhaps, than any previous month of the journey, but I got through with it very well, and felt very thankful that it was no worse.

22.—Started at daylight in search of the lost horse, and found him alone, in the prairie 6 mi. below the fort and with a great deal of difficulty caught him. He led badly, and as I was trying to put the cord in his mouth, he struck me, one foot hit on the upper lip and the other on my arm. The blow on the lip produced a contusion, and a good deal of pain, but it soon subsided. Went to the fort and took breakfast. Mr.

Ermatinger was to leave the following Tues. and the company was to await him there. I overtook camp a little after they halted for the night, and thankful to find Thomas' leg better.

23, Sat.—Very little provision in camp, but fortunately, a short distance from where we wished to camp, saw a band of buffaloe, three were killed, two fell in camp. This supply prevented our moving on Sunday.

24, Sun.—Preached twice, but some did not attend.

25.—Did not raise camp. Mr. Walker's "squaw", as he calls her, brought forth a son about 8 o'clock A. M. Was in labour four and twenty hours, I think.

26.—Made a long march to the little lake and Mr. Walker and squaw arrived about an hour after. How different from civilization. Several went out hunting. About 5 o'clock a band of buffaloe was seen 3 or 4 mi. from camp, 10 or 12 men were soon mounted and off. Wm. and I went to see how our horses would perform. When we were a mi. distant at least, I dismounted, to tighten the girth of my saddle. No sooner was I off than they raised the yell and rushed forward as fast as they could. A half breed started first and the others were obliged to follow if they wished to kill. By the time I was mounted, they were a good distance ahead, and my horse, not pleased at being behind, rushed on so fast, that by the time I came up he was rather out of breath; however, seeing the foremost one start off alone and no one following him, I gave him chase. It was a very bad place to run; many ravines and rocks, but I at length succeeded in coming up to him, and brought him down the third shot. Wm. also killed one. We thought we did very well, as there were but seven buffaloe, and so many old hunters, considering this was our first trial.

27.—Mended clothes, made arrangements for the journey &c.

28.—Heard Mr. E. had arrived at Bear River, and packed immediately to go to him, but he came just as we [were] about to start; concluded to remain all night.

This day, I was 35 years of age. I could not but reflect, that I had now arrived at what is called the meridian of life, and that my sun was beginning to decline towards the western horizon. 35 years, and how little have I done to benefit mankind. How long shall I yet be permitted to labour? Can I expect to see as many more years? No. How many have I known, whose sun has suddenly set at noon! Mine too may soon go down. There are many things to induce the belief, that I shall never arrive at old age. My sun is, in all probability, several degrees past the meridian already, and a few more years, perhaps, weeks, or days, may find me numbered with the silent clods of the valley. Well, be it so: but let me have grace to improve my remaining days, more, or less, to the glory of God, and I need have no uneasiness about it. The Judge of all the earth will do rightly.

29.—Mr. McKay accompanied us to Bear R., dined with us, and took his leave of us, and this three sons, who are going, under my care, to the U. S. to study for some years. The parting scene was most affecting. We were now, in company with Mr. Ermatinger, three men, and two Indians started, in good earnest, for Rendezvous. Made a long march and camped on a small creek.

30.—Overtook Mr. St. Clair, a trader, who left us the day before we left the little lake. Went out to run buffaloe; just as I was getting near, a man shot one, which did not fall immediately, but as I was taking aim, he fell and frightened my horse. It was upon a side hill, and my horse leaped so suddenly that I discharged my gun into the air, and as he continued [to] leap, in saving myself my gun fell to the ground.

Thankful that I had shot no one (for there were several close by), but not at all discouraged, I picked up my rifle, continued the chase, and killed my animal. Camped on B. River.

July 1, Sun.—Left B. R. on the right, crossed Smith's Fork, came along the hills several miles, and crossed the dividing

ridge, between the waters of B. R. and those of Green River. Camped on a small stream. Our guide, in attempting to take us a near-cut, took us over some dreadful hills, through thick woods, and over some snow banks, where, I *think* man never before past, and seldom beast. This was more than a Jewish Sabbath day's journey, but I did not know how to avoid it. Mr. E. had before told me, if he went to Rendezvous with us, he would travel Sunday, for he would not give the Black-Foot two chances for one.

2.—Camped on New River, had missed our way, and gone a few miles too high up.

3.—Some cows were killed. Camped a few mi. from Horse Creek, where we expected to find Rendezvous, but seeing the plains covered with Buffaloe, and seeing no signs of *it*, such as horse tracks, &c., I had given up almost all hope of its being there. And what might be the consequences to us was more than I could divine.

July 4.—Started early, and in a few hours, reached Horse Creek, but instead of finding the noise, tumult, hustle and drunkenness, which one might expect on Independence day, at an *American* Rendezvous; all was gloomy-solitude, and still as the house of Death. We soon learned, from a note left upon an old house that, Ren. was upon Pawpawazha at its confluence with Green River. One of our party had passed that way 9 years ago, and thought it was 150 or 200 mi. Mr. E.'s horses were poor and he did not wish to go farther, and the guide must return with him. Perplexing suspense, seemed to give a gloomy tinge to every countenance; and though we *talked of Independence*, yet, perhaps we seldom *felt* more our dependence upon others. At dinner, however, I told them my mind was made up, whatever others might do to go *ahead*. After dinner I went and examined the notes, and the writing upon the logs of the house, and we were satisfied, that, Mr. Grey had arrived at Ren's and Mr. E. determined to go with us, we finding him and men horses to ride. This settled all became cheerful, and the boys prepared a splendid Independence supper.

5.—Crossed Green River, made a long march, between 40 & 50 mi. camped on a small stream, good grass.

6.—Saw four Indians; being apprehensive that they were Black Feet, three men started immediately to ascertain, and in the meantime the In. found some buffaloe and run them close to us, without showing the least fear. We were then satisfied that they were Snakes. They soon came to us, and a short time after, we came in sight of their village. It was a mile or two from our route, and perhaps 30 came to us on horseback and held a parley.

They confirmed the news about Ren., and told how many waggons there were. We remarked that several of our horses were a good deal swollen, and before noon one of the In.'s horses was dead.

Crossed Big and Little Sandy R. and passed the dividing ridge between the waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic. Several horses very sick when we encamped. Perhaps half of them were more or less affected. They must have eaten some poisonous plant. Now all hands commenced giving medicine, while I made preparations for giving clysters. They were so swollen that some were in agony, but the clyster relieved them and all seemed pretty well in the morning.

7.—Got out of the mountains, and camped on Pawpawazha. Was extremely weary.

8, Sun.—Started early, and in a few hours saw several men upon the opposite side. Hailed them and learned that they left Ren's that morning. Moved on rapidly and came in sight of Ren's about noon. It was upon an island, and the [water] being too high to ford with loads we camped and soon Mr. Grey came to us.

After dinner I cross[ed] over and was introduced to Mrs. Grey and his associates. I received one letter from Dr. Bangs, and that was the only one. Was greatly rejoiced to see five males and four females, going to join, the solitary Missionaries on the Columbia. United with them in prayer meeting. Yes

strange to tell, Christians have met upon the R. Mountains to pray for the poor Indians. May Heaven hear and be propitious to their prayers. Tarried with them all night.

9.—Went to our camp, and by raising the packs high were able to bring them over dry. The Missionaries and their Ladies, all seem cheerful and very anxious to get into their field of labour. May Heaven speed them on.

10.—Writing all day, except when hindered by visitors, or visiting, and nearly all night.

12.—In the morning finished my letters. This being the last opportunity of writing my dear wife, perhaps till my return, it seemed almost like a fresh parting; and the thought that this privilege must be denied me, and that I could do nothing to alleviate her sorrows, or add to her joys, for so long a time, brought tears to my eyes. But how consoling is the doctrine brought to light in the Bible. I wish to add to her comfort; well, if we are both actuated by the love of God, I am taking the most effectual method of of doing it.

“All things work together for good, to those that love God.” And “these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.”

Took leave of the brethren and sisters, while they started, in company with Mr. Ermatinger. Thank God, they have every prospect of reaching the field of their future labours in safety. How happy would I have been, if my work in the U. S. had been done, and I ready to descend with them, but God’s ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. A. M. Forded the river and camped with the company which is going to Missouri.

The grove at the Rendezvous, where was the store, lodges, &c., took fire, and they were forced to move all their goods from their store, but with difficulty saved the building.

13.—Mended my trunk, which was shatered very much, by my horse running away and throwing it off. Wished much to be on our way.

14.—Much talk of starting, but finally (as I had anticipated) deferred to Sunday.

15, Sun.—Left and made one march. Like sailors, they prefer starting on Sunday. The better day, the better luck. How undesirable a situation for a Christian, to be obliged to follow a company that has no respect to the Sabbath.

16.—Eat a piece of gray bear, very fat and better than any of the kind that have tasted before.

Camped on a small stream, was obliged to guard for the first time on the journey. Must take my turns or hire some one to do it, for no one is excused in this camp. Intend to stand my own guard, for I will not pay Mission money, and I have but little.

17.—Crossed the dividing ridge between the waters of the Yellowstone and the Platte. Dined, and slept, on Sweet Water River.

Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher

Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society in Indiana,
Illinois, Iowa and Oregon

Edited by

SARAH FISHER HENDERSON
NELLIE EDITH LATOURETTE
KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

(Continued from page 339, September Quarterly)

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Apr. 7th, 1851.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. Am. Bap. Home Mis. Soc. :

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the fourth quarter of the year ending April 1, 1851. I have labored (13) thirteen weeks in the quarter; preached eighteen (18) sermons; delivered six (6) lectures on moral and benevolent subjects; attended ten (10) prayer and other religious meetings; visited religiously twelve (12) families and individuals; baptized none; obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge; have not assisted in the organization of any church or the ordination of any minister; have traveled (50) fifty miles to and from my appointments; received none by letter, none by experience; we know of none hopefully converted, no young men preparing for the ministry, monthly concert not observed.

The people to whom I preach have paid nothing during the quarter for any of the missionary societies or Bible society; nothing toward my salary; the church has done nothing by way of building meeting house. Sabbath school is in operation in this place with 4 teachers and about 16 scholars and about 150 volumes in the library. The Bible class is connected with the school and numbers but four.

My school occupies most of my time through the week. We read the Scriptures twice each day and I frequently accompany this exercise with a few remarks and, as often as I judge it is useful, address the school on the great subject of their relations and obligations to God, to man and to themselves. I open and close the school each day by prayer. I preach at two other points besides this place, one on the opposite side of the river²³⁸ and the other at Milwaukie, six

²³⁸ This was Linn City.

miles below this place. I contemplate commencing monthly preaching at Portland in a few weeks, if my health will allow me to perform the labor.²³⁹ Many of the men of the territory are in the mines. Brother Snelling is among the number, so that we have but little preaching in the country. This spring I hardly dare contemplate our condition of feeble churches left without pastors while I am confined within the walls of a school house. I am sometimes half resolved to leave the school in the hands of such a teacher as we can secure, and travel through the valley, visit, preach and collect funds for the school building. But we fear the consequences of a change in teachers before our expected teachers arrive. We commenced our spring quarter today with 40 scholars, notwithstanding the gold excitement and the removal for a time of nearly all the remnant of our large boys for farming purposes during the summer. The number will increase for the ensuing two weeks. Our money has been drained off to build up eastern cities and farming is greatly neglected for the mines. Consequently it is difficult to collect for carrying forward our building and labor is extravagantly high. That work must progress slowly this summer. We hope to make a special effort in the fall for this work; I fear not before, unless I leave the school next quarter. We more need an efficient preacher as colporter for the A. B. Publication Soc., who would do some work for the Bible Society, than an agent for the Bible Society to the neglect of the Publication Society. But if the Publication Society do not do this work through their agent, we will be glad to see your proposed enterprise take effect. Should the Bible Soc. send us an agent, or Bibles, they will do well to send a large proportion of large Bibles suitable for family Bibles. There has been an inquiry for them for a long time, when small Bibles cannot be sold for cost. Every evangelical society has Bibles in the country and the people have generally obtained Bibles

²³⁹ The author apparently soon began holding occasional services in Portland in the Congregational meeting-house. They were continued until October, 1854, when a Baptist minister settled in Portland.—*Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore.* II:14.

and Testaments gratuitously, or at very low price, till the country has become tolerably supplied. But our coming population will create a large demand for more next year.

We are truly gratified to learn that interests in Oregon are beginning to receive a share in the sympathies of our trans-mountain brethren. My personal thanks to Dr. Pike for the part of the philosophical apparatus which he so generously donated for the institution. In due time, on the reception of the gift, he will receive an expression from the Board.

I received the boxes you shipped on board the Grecian. I have received the bill of lading for the goods you shipped me on board the bark Francis and Louisa; also the bills of lading of the goods shipped for Br. Chandler on board the Golden Age.

Affectionately yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received June 3, 1851.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., July 1, 1851.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.:

Herein I send my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the first quarter ending July 1, 1851. My field comprises the church at Oregon City, the community at Linn City, Milwaukie and vicinity and Portland. At the last three named places we have as yet no church.

I have labored 13 weeks in the quarter, preached 21 sermons, delivered no lectures on moral and benevolent subjects, attended three church meetings and two prayer meetings, visited religiously twenty families and individuals, no common schools, baptized none, obtained no signatures to the temperance pledge, have assisted at the organization of no church, no ordination, have traveled to and from my appointments 126 miles, received none by letter, none by experience and none to my knowledge has been hopefully converted. No

young men in the church preparing for the ministry. Monthly concert of prayer is not observed. My people have paid during the quarter for the Home Mission Society nothing and nothing for any other benevolent society. Church has done nothing by way of building meeting houses. I have received from individuals for my support as a minister \$10.00. Connected with the congregations to which I preach are two Sabbath schools, one with the church in this place, having three teachers, 18 scholars and about 150 volumes; the other at Milwaukee, a promiscuous school, with one Baptist teacher and seven scholars of Baptist family. There is also a Bible class with five pupils connected with the Sabbath school in Oregon City which I teach one-fourth of the time. Our school is about as numerous as at any preceding period. My confinement in school and the necessary labor and care prevent my laboring so much in the ministry direct as I should otherwise do, yet I trust we are laying the foundation for more efficient work hereafter. Our school building is now being enclosed and we hope to have two rooms finished by the time of the arrival of Brs. Chandler and Read. I have most of the labor of raising subscriptions for the work. More than one-third of the old subscriptions cannot be made available at present, mostly by means of a change in the moneyed matters of the subscribers. We have now most of the lumber engaged and paid for to carry the work on as far as above specified and as yet have no debts hanging over us; but I fear my confinement in the school and Br. Johnson's necessary callings will leave the building one or two thousand dollars in debt, when fit for use, which must be met by an appeal to the public, as soon as Br. Chandler arrives, which our brethren tell me I will have to do.

You see, dear brother, that I have upon me the labor of two men now and when it will be less is known only by Him whom we serve. I have just returned from our Association held in Tualatin Plains. Our business was transacted with great unanimity. Resolutions were passed in favor of the

cause of Home Missions, American and Foreign Bible Society, American Bap. Pub. Soc., American Tract Society, the Sunday school cause and religious periodicals. Our congregations were unusually large and solemn. We must leave the results with God, but confidently hope the cause which we represent in Oregon is advancing. Three churches were added to our Association during the anniversary. I am appointed to correspond with you on the subject of an exploring agent and the appointment of a missionary for Salem, which I must defer till after the next mail. I received my commission, under date of May 2d, and accompanying letter. I will attend to the deficiency on the part of the church and forward the concurrent certificates in my next. When Br. Chandler arrives, we must have an entire change in our fields of labor and we have a committee appointed by our Association to call a convention of the brethren to consult on the best method of promoting the cause of Christianity and education in Oregon, immediately on the arrival of Br. Chandler. Would it not be well for your Board to authorize your missionaries in this territory to make such changes at that time as the said convention may deem necessary for the furtherance of the cause of Christ? Please write me immediately on this subject.

I will here insert the following names as subscribers for the Home Mission Record: Rev. Richmond Cheadle, Santiam Post Office, Elmer Keyes, do, Edward T. Lenox, Hillsboro P. O., James S. Holman, Luckiamute.

Yours in gospel fellowship,

EZRA FISHER,

Missionary at Oregon City and vicinity.

N. B.—I am waiting with prayerful solicitude for the time to arrive when I may do my duty as a servant of God and leave the walls of the school and meet the suffering wants of some of the feeble, famishing churches in the valley. Br. Newell²⁴⁰ was here today, broken in spirit at the loss of his dear wife and child. Br. Coe has spent one night with us; am

²⁴⁰ See note 218.

much pleased with him. Dea. Failing²⁴¹ and sons spent two nights with us; were well. Will stop at present at Portland. I hope we shall be able during the present season to constitute a church at Portland.

Yours,

Received Aug. 22, 1851.

E.F.

Aug. 8, 1851.

I received all the goods shipped on board the bark Ellen and Louisa which the bill of lading calls for. I learn too that the Golden Age is at Portland and I have made arrangements to have Br. Chandler's goods stored free of charge till he arrives. I suppose we have now for the first time a tolerable supply of books of the A. Bap. Publication Soc's publications and I trust Elder Cheadle, their Colporter, will exert a good influence with these works in his hands. The immigration from California will probably be large the coming winter and even for a longer time. I am informed that the Spanish titles to the land are generally good and the result will be many American citizens who would like lands in California will avail themselves of the benefits of the Oregon land bill. I think Pacific City* will not greatly suffer for the want of an efficient minister before another summer. Br. Newell has been seriously afflicted by the loss of his wife and child on the passage and he is as yet somewhat unsettled, yet I think we must soon have a good man located at that place or Astoria or Clatsop Plains to meet the wants temporarily of all that region. He should be a prudent, business-like, devoted minister who loves Zion and can resist worldly temptations. From this time forward changes must be great on the Pacific coast and every improvement must go forward with a rapidity unequaled in any new portion of our country. Our churches must be supplied with a devoted, thorough ministry and that ministry must and will, with a love

²⁴¹ Josiah Failing (1806-1877) came to Oregon in 1851 and was prominent in business, church and politics.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:69. The two sons were John W. and Henry.

* Ilwaco, Pacific county, Washington, of the present day.

approaching to a passion for the work, train the churches right. I feel a strong assurance on this subject.

I am not tired of doing my duty, but I think I shall appreciate in some measure the responsibilities of the ministry more than I have done in past years, should the Lord graciously spare my life till I can give over this school into other hands. When I look over the moral waste of the Willamette Valley and hear the appeals as often as I see the brethren, "When will you come and preach to us?" it is almost more than I can endure. The interests of our school must not be neglected, but, unless we are visited with the outpourings of the spirit from on high, we are a ruined people in Oregon. Pray for us.

Yours,
E. FISHER.

Received Oct. 6, 1851.

Oregon City, Sept. 3d, 1851.

Rev. Benj. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

I received by the last mail two copies of the annual report of the A. B. H. M. Soc. for 1851, and Br. Johnson received a letter from you. Religious matters in the Territory remain much as they were when I last wrote. Our school numbers about forty scholars since we dismissed the female department and will be considerably enlarged the next two quarters, should our teachers prove to be popular with this people, as we trust they will. I have but three weeks after the present one in this quarter. Then I hope to be able under God to visit the churches through the valley and preach to them Saturdays and Sabbaths and, at the same time, raise some funds for our building, which lies heavy on our hands and heavier on my heart. The work has moved on slowly this summer, it being only enclosed, without doors or windows. We, however, have part of the glass, and the oil and lead for painting. The house is between three and four hun-

dred dollars in debt. We have about \$1000 uncollected on our subscription paper and we can probably rely on about \$200 this fall from that source. We have flooring enough on hand to lay the floor for two rooms and a few hundred feet of ceiling and may probably get some more lumber on the old subscription and more subscribed.

We had the pleasure of welcoming Br. Chandler to this place yesterday, but his family were left sixteen miles back in the first settlements this side of the Cascade Mountains. He was in health and in good spirits, as were his family and Br. Read,²⁴² all of whom will be in town this week. We trust that from this time we shall be able to do more for our feeble churches than formerly and hope we may enjoy an enlarged measure of the spirit of our Divine Master. We shall call the convention, of which I made mention in my last, about the time of the close of my quarter. I rejoice to find that you have anticipated the same thing in your letter to Br. Johnson. I have discontinued my appointments at Linn City on account of the small number of families in that place this summer, and commenced preaching once a month at Canema,²⁴³ a village springing up at the head of the falls on this side of the Willamette, one mile above this place. We may continue a monthly appointment there after the meeting of the convention, but we must not longer neglect the churches in the valley above. I should have sent you the concurrent certificate of the church²⁴⁴ by the last mail but for the fact that our church clerk lives three miles from this place on the other side of the Willamette²⁴⁵ and I have had no opportunity of seeing

²⁴² This was Rev. J. S. Read. He had just graduated from Franklin College. He taught in the Oregon City School for one school year and then went to Southern Oregon. He returned to Indiana in 1854.—*Mattoon, Bap. An. of Ore.* I:113.

²⁴³ Canemah began in the later forties. It took its name either from an Indian chief, or from a word meaning a canoe landing; probably the former.—George H. Himes.

²⁴⁴ These certificates were required by the Home Mission Society to be sent in by churches which were asking for the service of its missionaries.

²⁴⁵ The clerk of the Oregon City Church at this time was F. A. Collard, who was then living on his land claim just south of what is now Oswego.—*Records of First Baptist Church of Ore. City* (MS. and records in Clackamas County Court House).

him for four weeks. At the first meeting I had with the brethren in Portland they appointed a committee to sign a similar certificate, but on my last visit to that place the two most efficient brethren were gone to San Francisco on business, and thus the matter is delayed. I will now record the vote of the church on the subject of application for my appointment and, should I not see our clerk before the next mail leaves, I shall hand the letter to Br. Johnson for signature.

Yours,

E. FISHER.

Voted to recommend Elder Ezra Fisher to the favorable consideration of the Home Missionary Society for re-appointment for the term of one year. Also voted to invite Elder Ezra Fisher to supply the church one-fourth of the time. Done at the church meeting on the first Saturday in Feb., 1851.

The 1st Bap. Church at Oregon City concur in all the terms of the application made by Elder Fisher in a letter addressed to the Corresponding Secretary in Feb. last.

September 6th, 1851.

W. T. MATLOCK,

Clerk pro tem.

N. B. We have this day had Brs. Chandler and Read in attendance and agreed to call the convention of which I made mention in my last on Friday the 17th instant.

Yours,

Received Nov. 3, 1851.

E. F.

Oct. 1st, 1851.

To Rev. B. M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. of Am. Bap. Home Mission Soc.:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the second quarter ending Oct. 1, 1851.

Up to this time my field has comprised Oregon City, Portland, Milwaukie and an out-station at Canema, a rising village half a mile above Oregon City, at the head of the Wil-

lamette Falls, which I statedly supply. I have labored 13 weeks in the quarter, preached 19 sermons, delivered three lectures to the Sabbath school in this place, attended three ministers' prayer meetings in this place (which are weekly), visited religiously 25 families and individuals, visited no common schools, but addressed my own weekly, baptized none, no signatures to the temperance pledge, organized no church, no ordination, traveled to and from my appointments 130 miles, none received by letter, none by experience, have had no hopeful conversions, no young men preparing for the ministry. The monthly concert of prayer is not observed at any of my stations. My people have paid nothing during the quarter for any missionary or benevolent society. I have received nothing for my salary; no meeting houses being erected. Connected with the church in Oregon City is a Sabbath school of 18 scholars and three teachers and about 150 volumes in the library. There is also a Bible class with 3 pupils.

EZRA FISHER,
Missionary.

N. B.—At the meeting of the convention held at this place on the 19th and 20th of Sept. last you will see, by referring to the minutes which will probably leave in the next mail, that the Trustees of the Oregon City College appointed me temporarily as agent for that school to collect funds to carry on the building now up and enclosed, but between four and five hundred dollars in debt. It was thought to be the best that could be done. It was hoped that this work might be performed without materially diverting me from my ministerial labors. I shall be expected to meet my regular appointments twice each month at Portland, or supply them with a substitute. You will also see a request from this convention that your Board appoint me as a corresponding evangelist for Oregon (I am not certain that I have the right name as I have not the minutes of that convention and quote from memory). The name of exploring agent was urgently

objected to by one and only one of the members of the convention, but he is a man of influence and with his objections against eastern influence. It is understood, however, that this evangelist is to perform the duties of an exploring agent. It seems necessary that the Willamette and Umpqua valleys²⁴⁶ be explored or visited by a faithful missionary who will be able to make a fair representation of the wants of the denomination, both to your Board and to the Willamette Association. The people at the mouth of the Columbia should also be visited, and perhaps the settlement at Puget Sound²⁴⁷ during the next season. Little, if anything, can be expected the present year in aid for the support of such an agent above what I shall receive from Portland, unless I should supply some destitute church a stated portion of the time. Yet the scattered members would be encouraged to early organizations and be led to appreciate the great utility of the missionary organization. Should the winter rains hold off, I hope to visit several destitute churches in the upper part of the valley. Baptist sentiments seem to be well received, and it is very obvious that our efforts in the cause of education seem to inspire public confidence in the efficiency of the denomination. I will give one instance: A Br. Hill²⁴⁸ from Missouri came to Albany, a county seat on the Willamette about 70 miles above this place, and commenced teaching and preaching some time last winter. His labors resulted in organizing a small church; the proprietors of the lower part of the town have built a school house and at our late convention requested us to send them a teacher and a preacher, with the assurance that the people would help to support him as a minister and donate one-fourth of the lots of their town for church pur-

²⁴⁶ The Hudson's Bay Company had established a post in the Umpqua Valley as early as 1832.—Bancroft, *Hist. of N. W. Coast*, II:521. The valley was first carefully explored and extensively settled in 1850, largely through the efforts of the "Umpqua Town-Site and Colonization Land Company," which was largely financed from California.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.* II:175-183.

²⁴⁷ See note 390. There were a number of Americans of the immigration of 1851 who settled on Puget Sound.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Wash., Idaho and Montana*, p. 21.

²⁴⁸ This was Rev. Reuben Coleman Hill, M. D., (1808-1890). He was born in Kentucky and moved to Missouri in 1846, to California in 1850, and to Oregon in 1851.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, II:82.

poses. It is said that they have from forty to sixty acres laid out in town lots. We have similar proposals for taking schools under our care upon town sites upon the banks of the Willamette. If we had a few young men of prudence and energy, with a sacrificing spirit, to throw into our county seats in the valley above us, no doubt, with the blessings of the Great Teacher, an incalculable amount of good might be accomplished.

The overland immigration is large and mostly in the valley and in the Cascade Mountains and will be in in eight or ten days.²⁴⁹ Its number is estimated at from four to five thousand souls. We are constantly receiving accessions by water, so that it is thought that our white population by the first of March will be at least 30,000.

Brs. Chandler and Read will enter upon their duties as teachers week after next. We expect they will supply this church and one or two out stations in the vicinity. Money is scarce and crops of wheat and vegetables abundant. I have not yet learned whether my appointment as missionary is confirmed, but I have been acting with that expectation and shall venture to order you to put me up some family clothing and books, in a few days. I am receiving the Christian Chronicle regularly and, if it is charged to me, I wish you to arrange the matter with the editors and charge that amount to me.

We fear that Br. Failing will become discouraged in business and leave for N. Y., but still hope God will otherwise direct. He is much needed in Oregon.

Yours in gospel fellowship,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Nov. 19, 1851.

²⁴⁹ See note 154.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Jan. 30, 1852.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Yours, bearing date Nov. 29 and mail mark Dec. 9th, containing a commission for me to act as exploring agent for Oregon for the term of three months, was received by the last mail. I now hasten to answer the same and make a few general statements of facts as nearly as I can explain matters now in Oregon. Since the arrival of Brs. Chandler and Read I have visited YamHill county and church; spent ten days in that county, principally to look over their spiritual wants in the absence of Elder Snelling,²⁵⁰ the former pastor of YamHill church. Found the members scattered over half a large county and almost disheartened, but they seemed cheered by the visit and manifested a desire to enjoy the preached word. In this visit, as in all my public labors the past fall and winter, I have endeavored to make my agency for the school subserve the interests of the churches rather than make it the all engrossing subject. I have preached half my Sabbaths at Portland and Milwaukie; in the morning at the latter place, and in the evening at the former. The remaining part of my time I have performed labors in the south and southeast part of Marion County, on the east side of the Willamette River from 20 to 40 miles south from Oregon City and one of the most promising agricultural parts of the Willamette Valley, in which are located two feeble churches,²⁵¹ one of which had lost its visibility for the want of the occasional preaching of the word. All the former members of the church have changed their location and in so doing have thrown themselves into a more commanding position in the same vicinity. Their position is such that at no distant day two small

²⁵⁰ Snelling was then in California.

²⁵¹ The two churches were the one at French Prairie, organized in 1850, near or in the present town of Gervais; and the Shiloh Church, organized in 1850, at the present town of Turner.—Matton, *Bap. An. of Ore.* 1:9.

It was probably the French Prairie Church which was so weak.

business towns must rise up in their vicinity, one on the Willamette about 15 miles below Salem, the other on Pudding River, eight miles east of the landing on the Willamette.

In looking over the field which God in his providence has seen fit to assign us, we are constrained to say, "Ours is a goodly heritage," and we feel no inclination to abandon it for others, yet we think your Board do not fully appreciate all the embarrassments under which we, as missionaries and churches, labor. Our field is as truly a missionary field as any portion of the great field which was contemplated in the first organization of the A. B. H. M. Soc. Imagine for a moment 200 or 300 American citizens who have been gathering upon the waters of Puget Sound²⁵² (the future naval depot for Oregon) for the last seven years, and for all this time have never been visited by a Protestant minister. Now suppose you were to meet one of these citizens and hear him relate to you the fact that they trade with foreigners and go to the Roman church²⁵³ for Sabbath instruction and then ask, "Why can you not come over and preach to us, for I verily think ours is missionary ground?" What would be the feelings of your heart when you are compelled to turn them away with an indefinite reply? This is but one case. The people settled upon the banks of the Columbia River (the great thoroughfare of trade for the valley of Willamette and the Northern gold mines of Rogue River) from Vancouver to Astoria, a distance of 90 miles,²⁵⁴ have never had preaching of any order save in a very few instances. But a few days since an acquaintance of mine residing near a rising town which, at no very distant period, will not fail to be a place of some importance, asked me if I could not sometime come and preach to them, saying he was a wicked man, but he had children and had raised them to respect the gospel

²⁵² See note 247. The trade on the Sound increased largely in 1852-3, and several small towns were springing up.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:250.

²⁵³ This church was near Olympia at a place now called Priest's Point Park.—George H. Himes.

²⁵⁴ The towns of St. Helens, Milton, Westport and Rainier, were all springing up about this time.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Oregon*, II:251, 252.

and they and his neighbors, wanted to hear preaching and he would make his house a comfortable home for any respectable minister who would come and preach one sermon and give him ten dollars for his part.

Then, with me, take a bird's eye view of the Willamette, whose settlements spread over a territory 180 miles in length and from 20 to sixty miles in width, in almost every settlement of which are found one or more members of our order surrounded with men of all religious sects and of no religious creed, and exposed to all the disorganizing influences peculiar to a country where preaching is but occasional and Sabbath day visiting and hunting of loose cattle and wild game are common, and at the same time large portions of the men are going to and coming from the mines. Can this be regarded as any other than a missionary field in the most unqualified sense of the term? Then turn your attention to the Umpqua Valley, in which are now two organized counties,²⁵⁵ and it is said that it is now as thickly peopled as the Willamette, with no evangelical minister to break the bread of life,²⁵⁶ where character is formed with unexampled rapidity, and no means are wanting to draw the youth into the most abandoned habits which the temptations of gold can inspire in the absence of the moral influence of the Bible (for men will soon neglect their Bibles if the gospel is not preached), and here we must say is a missionary field. Immediately south of the Umpqua River, gold diggings begin and that portion of the mines between this and the Chasty (Shasta)²⁵⁷ Mountains, a distance of 140 to 150 miles from north to south, is included in the Oregon field. Here thousands of our countrymen are constantly engaged in digging gold, with no one to minister to them the excellencies of that gospel which is incomparably more valuable than gold. With

²⁵⁵ Douglas and Umpqua Counties, the former of which had just been organized, and Jackson County, which was also organized in January, 1852, comprised the Rogue River Valley.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:710, 712.

²⁵⁶ This statement is probably correct.

²⁵⁷ Shasta, a corruption of the French "chaste," was first applied to the mountain by early American travelers.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VII:440.

a few exceptions, the entire population of the Umpqua and the gold regions of Oregon have congregated on our southern border within the term of the last eighteen months. Is not Oregon then a missionary field? We desire your Board to take another view of our condition. By referring to the minutes of our Association you will see that we report eleven small churches.²⁵⁸ Two others are constituted and probably some four or five more will spring into existence the coming summer. In all these churches we number about 160 members. Forty or fifty more may include all the members of the territory; and these members come to us from almost every state in the union, and some from Australia. It would be almost a miracle, in bringing together such a community, if all would at once co-operate, in ways and means to carry out the great objects of the gospel, with all the harmony of the spheres. Yet be it said to the praise of these brethren and to the honor of the gospel of Christ that, according to the means of grace they enjoy, they will not suffer in comparison with most of the country churches in the States, both as it regards the order of the members or the willingness to support the gospel. Now when we remember that nine years ago the first of these brethren arrived in Oregon and from that time to the present they arrived in this valley poor, many without bed or bedding, save a few blankets, with their teams either lost in the mountains or reduced to skeletons, and every necessary of life to provide anew, with clothing, groceries, cooking and farming utensils at a price fourfold that of the cost in the States, that in churches of from six to twenty-seven members no two families lived nearer than a mile of each other, and these interspersed with every variety of religionist found in the States, till it is not common for more than two Baptist churches to be found in

²⁵⁸ The minutes for June, 1851, show only nine churches; the West Union, Yamhill, Rickreal, Oregon City, Santiam, Lebanon, Shiloh, Molalla, and Clatsop Churches. The French Prairie and Marysville Churches were organized, but not admitted.—*Minutes of Willamette Baptist Association for 1851.* Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:1-17. The author must have been mistaken, for the Association of 1852 did not meet until the June after this letter was written.

a large county, is it reasonable to expect that everything will be done with the promptness and precision with which business is transacted in well organized churches in the midst of compact cities?

And then your missionaries, unlike our missionaries in the foreign fields, have been compelled to divide their energies between the interests of the churches and the recurring urgent wants of rising families. During the last three years the extravagant prices of all the articles of family consumption, together with the rage for gold which pervaded almost the entire community, precluded all reasonable hope that the Missionary Society and the scattered churches would give the families of your missionaries a bare sustenance. With this state of things we are fully convinced that your Board have been disposed to exercise a laudable (I might perhaps say unwarrantable) forbearance. But this policy has been fruitful in evil consequences. Our necessities have diverted our time and care to a lamentable extent from our appropriate work. While we have been fast wearing out our lives in hard labor directed to the best of our wisdom, we feel a lamentable conviction that the feeble cause of Christ has been neglected and our Christian graces have been gradually declining. In the midst of these embarrassing circumstances we have labored and under the blessing of God we have brought a school into existence. In the assumption of the necessary responsibilities, Brother Johnson has involved himself in pecuniary liabilities from which it is doubtful whether he will ever be able to recover. The school furnished me a living while at the same time it consumed all my available means and confines me for years to the place in order to secure a permanent site for a literary institution for the denomination in Oregon. But times and prospects have greatly changed in a few months. The prices of most of the ordinary articles of family consumption are materially reduced. Still the labor of man and beast is high. Butter is still 75 cents a pound, so we use none of that article; fresh

beef from 8 to 12 cents per pound, pork from 14 to 18 and eggs 75 cents per dozen. The prospect of usefulness is also materially increased, especially in the country churches. Feeble and scattered as our churches are, I think they will pay from \$50 to \$150 this year for preaching, if they can secure it one Sabbath each month. These churches are all located in the midst of most important agricultural districts in the Willamette Valley, some of them in the immediate vicinity of county seats, and must not be neglected. The population in all our towns is greatly reduced by means of that peculiar feature in the land bill which requires four years' actual residence on a claim to obtain a patent from government. Numbers of the remaining citizens are adventurers who have left their families in the States and intend to return to their families as soon as they shall have sheared the golden fleece. Others are uncertain whether their business will justify the removal of their families to our shores. These and other circumstances too numerous to be named render the successful occupancy of our towns more than doubly difficult than that of the towns in the Western states, technically so called. But with all these difficulties to encounter, Pseudo-baptist churches, both Roman and Protestant, are sustaining their ministers in the most important of these towns by very little aid from the members in the place. Should we entirely neglect these towns, they will soon become very difficult of access to Baptists. Your missionaries are of opinion that a missionary should be stationed at Portland and principally supported by the Board at home, if a suitable man can be found. A small family at this place would require \$600 a year to enable a man to devote himself to the work of the ministry, \$100 of which is as much as could reasonably be expected from the people of the place, unless favorable changes could be made. Portland, as I have informed you in a former letter, is the principal port in Oregon. The present population is estimated at 700 souls. It contains 35 wholesale and retail stores, two tin shops, four public taverns, two steam sawmills, one steam flouring

mill, with two run of stones, six or eight drinking shops and billiard tables, one wine and spirit manufactory, a variety of mechanic shops and from 8 to 15 merchant vessels are always seen lying at anchor in the river or at the wharves. The Methodists, Presbyterians and Romans have each built them neat places for public worship.²⁵⁹ The Episcopalians have service two Sabbaths each month. The Methodist Church have a high school in progress and a neat edifice of wood, two stories, 60 by 40 feet. A few months ago we had ten Baptist members in this place; now we can find but six. But about half of them can be regarded as permanent. This is the place where nearly all the immigrants by water land and from which they will go to their various points of destination. You will see then the importance of early planting a church in this place.

What I have said of Portland in respect to support is true of Oregon City. Yet it will not do to abandon that post. Our school must be sustained and much of that must be done at the sacrifice of your missionaries. To human appearance the abandonment of this enterprise would be ruinous. To tax one man with the labor of the school and the care of the church and then require him to be put in competition with ministers of other denominations who are sustained in their own appropriate work seems much like double working a man and at the same time taking from him the use of his tools. In this condition a brother may greatly desire to show himself "approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth," but it is certain he cannot study much to do these things. After Brother Chandler's year closes, we shall be compelled to make some change in his labors so that he may either devote the most of his energies to the school or to the church. Br.

²⁵⁹ In 1852 there seems to have been only the following church buildings in Portland: Methodist, built in 1850; Catholic, 1851; Congregational, 1851. There was in addition a parish of the Episcopal Church, organized in 1851. A Presbyterian Church was not organized until 1854. The author evidently confuses the Presbyterians with the Congregationalists.—*Hist. of Portland*, ed. by H. W. Scott, pp. 344-356.

Johnson's health is slowly improving. I hope he will be able to enter the field of labor by the first of April. The Molalla and West Union churches are waiting for his services and when they learn that he can serve them I have no doubt but they will make the requisite application and will probably raise for his support from \$150 to \$200. Beyond this, he wishes to itinerate and visit and preach to destitute churches and settlements, as Providence may direct, half the time. In view of the scattered condition of our numbers and the influence he would exert upon the churches and ministers, I think this will contribute more to organize and strengthen the churches than any course he could pursue. We feel that your Board, if possible, ought to increase his salary at least to \$300. It has been thought advisable by all with whom I have consulted that I should devote my time to the business of an exploring agent according to the instructions contained in the late commission, if I can be sustained. But I think no reasonable man in Oregon would say this can be done for less than \$500 per year. Something might be done by the churches and individuals, should the Lord give me favor with the people. Should your Board make me the appointment of exploring agent and leave it discretionary with your missionaries here whether I should attend one or two churches monthly, I think the object you contemplate will be accomplished and I can receive about \$150 of the \$500 from the churches and reach all the important points in the territory except Puget Sound, and perhaps that. Through this arrangement Br. Johnson and myself would be able occasionally to spend a Sabbath together in a meeting, if Providence should indicate. I make this last suggestion partly to save your Board funds and partly from a conviction of its practical results on the cause in Oregon. In this event I would engage to labor one year, should you appoint me with a salary of \$350 from your Board.

Our school building is about \$200 in debt, and we must have \$300 or \$400 more expended before it will be suitable

to occupy. The latter sum can hardly be raised from the old subscriptions, although we have some \$1200 on the subscription unpaid which was subscribed in good faith. But what in Oregon is called hard times renders most of it very doubtful. Somebody must do this work, that somebody must be one of your missionaries, and I know not but that missionary must be myself. Our Congregational friends are about to send one of their ministers to the States to raise funds to liquidate the debts of the female seminary in this place.²⁶⁰ We shall try to do this first work in Oregon if possible. I have no more available means to apply to this work, not enough to purchase a horse for the coming year's labors, yet I trust my friends will in some way provide me at least the use of an animal. As it respects the present appointment for three months, it will be impossible for me to devote my entire time to the agency. The next five or six weeks are among the most unfavorable in the year to travel, except as we do it by steam; and then I have engagements twice each month which I cannot at once dispense with, if I can reach them. I have concluded to do what I can in the agency in connection with my other engagements and report accordingly. I shall not make a monthly report till next mail as this general communication is so extended. We trust with more than usual confidence that the coming season will be one of some ingathering into the churches. The future is with the Lord. The present becomes us to devote to him. Late indications at least appear rather flattering. May we be enabled to wait on the Lord in His appointed ways and His providential indications. As ever,

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received March 16, 1852.

²⁶⁰ This was Rev. George H. Atkinson.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:680.

Oregon City, O. Ter., April 1, 1852.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Society.

Dear Bro.:

Herein I send you my report of labor under the appointment of the Home Mission Society for the fourth quarter appointment under the commission forwarded under date of ending the last day of March, 1852 (or for the three months' Nov. 29, 1850). The condition of our churches and my engagements rendered it necessary that I should supply three destitute churches up to this time. I have visited Portland at my regular appointments four times. Have visited the church in the French Prairie three times, the Lebanon church (Marion Co.) 12 miles east from Salem, three times; the Shilo church, 12 miles south of Salem on the north fork of the Santiam once, Albany church at Albany (county seat of Linn) once; and the La Creole church, Polk Co., 8 miles S. W. of Salem (members dispersed through the county). Have labored 13 weeks, travelled 655 miles, paid \$2.25 travelling expenses. Received \$30 for my support, preached 42 sermons, visited religiously 56 families and individuals. My visit to the La Creole was to meet a public meeting called for the purpose of taking into consideration ways and means of meeting the destitution of the feeble churches and new portions of the territory, if practicable. But four ministers were present, one of whom is on the eve of leaving for the States. But four churches were represented and incipient measures were taken to supply them. It was thought desirable that I should attend two of those churches, each one Sabbath in two months, and that Br. V. Snelling attend them the alternate Sabbath one each two months. As soon as I shall have visited them I shall report their state and what they will do for the support, if that can be learned. It is slow bringing churches into an organized state for efficient action, but we will labor toward that as fast as we can.

The meeting was conducted with great unanimity of sentiment and, although the weather was very unfavorable, traveling bad and the waters high, the congregations were large for the place and, after preaching, five were received for baptism and four followed the footsteps of their Redeemer through the liquid grave, one the teacher of the school in the place. The deferred member will be baptized next Sabbath. He also is one of the leading men in the county. This church has received four or five others by baptism the past winter under the labors of Rev. R. C. Hill from Missouri.

Yours in the gospel,

Received May 17, 1852.

EZRA FISHER.

Oregon City, O. Ter., Apr. 1, 1852.

To the Executive Board of the

Am. Bapt. Home Mission Society:

The subscriber desires reappointment as a missionary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, for the term of one year from this date, to labor one-quarter of the time with the Baptist church at Lebanon, Marion County, one-quarter of the time with the Shilo church, Marion County, and the Marysville²⁶¹ church, Benton County, and to spend the remaining time as an itinerant preacher, in which time it is proposed by the friends in Oregon that I shall visit the Umpqua Valley and other portions in Oregon as often as circumstances may seem to demand. The Lebanon²⁶² church is in an important farming country 12 miles east of Salem; church numbers but 8 members. Average attendance on Lord's day about 50. The missionary Baptists have no church within 12 miles of the place. The church agree to pay for my support \$50 and hope to raise it to \$100. The Shilo church has 10 members; congregation the Sabbath I preached to them about 55. The position is important, both for farming and

²⁶¹ This was the present Corvallis. The name was changed in 1854. The church was organized in December, 1851.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:10.

²⁶² The Lebanon Church was organized May 17, 1851.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:16.

for manufacturing purposes. I cannot tell what they will do until after the next church meeting. Probably about \$50 for one-eighth of the time. I have not visited Marysville church. It is just constituted by the labors of Elder R. C. Hill and consists of about 16 members. The Lord has visited that region with a pleasing revival the past winter and Elder Hill, in behalf of that church, solicits my labors part of the time, with the assurance that they will aid in my support. The point is at the head of navigation and the seat of justice for Benton County,²⁶³ and probably it will become the most important place above Salem, if not above Oregon City. Providence has signally opened the door to the Baptists in this place and it seems to me that it should be occupied immediately. I will append the concurrent certificate.

EZRA FISHER.

The Lebanon Baptist church concur in all the terms of the foregoing application. By order of the church.

JOHN HUNT,
Church Clerk.

This is to certify that I approve of the above application.

GEO. C. CHANDLER.

N. B.—Elder Johnson is absent, but he assured me he would recommend this course of labor to me.

N. B.—I cannot visit Marysville church till the first Sab. in May. I have asked for an appointment of the above kind from the conviction of all with whom I have conversed that the churches already gathered should be attended at least once a month, in preference to exploring ground, no more important, which we cannot occupy. Should you be disposed to appoint me exploring agent, with the above named liberty, I will serve you under that name and in that capacity as far as practicable. As to the salary, your wisdom will decide what is necessary when I say that common laborers

²⁶³ Benton County was organized in 1847, and was named after Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:706.

cannot be hired short of from \$2 to \$3 per day and mechanics from \$5 to \$6. All articles of living are from 50 to 100 per cent above your city prices.

Respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER.

Received May 17, 1852.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., May 25, 1852.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Br.:

A desire to be able to communicate the state of the Baptist cause in Benton county when I next wrote you and my being unable to visit that county till the first Sabbath in this month forms my excuse for not forwarding the concurrent certificate of the Shilo church in Marion Co. to the application which I made in the month of Mar. for a reappointment as your missionary in Oregon.

At the regular church meeting the Shilo church invited Elder Ezra Fisher to take charge of the church and agreed to raise one hundred dollars for his services one-fourth of the time; also resolved to ask the Board of the Am. Baptist Home Missionary Society to appoint Elder Ezra Fisher as a missionary in the bounds of this church and to itinerate in the territory so as to promote the interests of the destitute churches and villages. The church heard the statements of Elder Fisher relating to the application which he had made for reappointment as a missionary in Oregon and concur in all the terms of the application as stated by him. Post Office address is Salem, Marion Co., O. T.

Shilo Church, Apr. 3d, 1852.

AARON CORNELIUS,

Church Clerk.

N. B.—By means of my being called away from the church before the clerk could attend to this application, Br. Corne-

lius requested me to make the statement of the facts and use his name in reference to this matter.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER.

Now as I have a little spare paper I wish to state a few facts. I visited the Marysville church, Benton Co., eighty miles above Oregon City by land and 160 by water, Saturday and Sabbath, the first and second days in May. Preached both days and visited four days in their bounds. The weather was unusually rainy, having been preceded by heavy rains for ten days so that all the streams were high, and most of the members living at a distance could not attend. The church had no meeting for business; on Saturday I preached to eight persons; Sabbath to about sixty-five. The facts touching the history of this church are interesting. Brother Hill from Missouri, having sustained himself by teaching and practicing medicine in Albany, about 15 miles below, on the east side of the river, while he preached on Sabbaths, was invited by a brother to visit and preach to the people in Marysville on Sabbath. Br. Hill complied with the request and discovered such indications of Divine favor as induced him to repeat his appointments, till he soon found that Providence manifestly called him to visit from house to house through the day and to preach each evening in some of the sparse settlements. He continued his labors about two months, during which time he baptized fourteen converts, numbers of old professors were revived and a church was constituted in Marysville, the county seat of Benton County, one of the most commanding points on the Willamette River. The church has since increased till it now numbers 30 members; others will unite by baptism and profession during the summer. The church have voted to build a neat house of worship, 30 feet by 40, paint the outside and finish the inside, and have contracted the work at \$2500, to be finished next Sept. By these providential interpositions the interests of the Baptist denomination in the county are

more promising than those of any other sect. Marysville is the head of steamboat navigation at present and must become one of the best points on the river for trade, with a surrounding country unrivalled in point of fertility of soil and beauty of scenery. At the solicitude of some of the members and friends I consented to spend the fifth Sabbath in this month with them. The church will make arrangements during the month of June to supply themselves once or twice each month. Should they invite me to preach monthly with them, I shall regard it my duty to comply with the request till they can get a man to devote his entire labors in Benton County.

Marysville is about two years old, contains about eight or ten families, five dry goods stores and about twenty frame buildings. A brisk trade is carried on between the place and the gold mines.²⁶⁴ The church paid Br. Hill something more than \$200 for his services and I think would raise some \$200 to \$400 salary for a suitable minister to preach all the time in the county.

You will hear more from this place in two or three months. My time is all taken up in travelling and preaching and performing the duties of a minister in Oregon. My lungs have been troublesome through the winter and are not entirely healed. Br. Johnson is still unable to preach.

Yours truly,

Received July 17, 1852.

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—I received the bills of lading for the goods shipped on the M. Howes Jan. 13 and 20.

Oregon City, O. T., July 28, 1852.

To Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc., N. York.

Dear Brother:

Yours under date June 3rd came to hand by the last mail. You will learn before the receipt of this that I am making ar-

²⁶⁴ The Hudson's Bay Company's trail leading from Fort Vancouver to the Sacramento Valley was a few miles west of Corvallis.—George H. Himes.

rangements to devote all my time to the agency. Br. Read is now disengaged from the school and I hope soon to see him situated where he can take care of one or more churches. I hope he will meet the wishes of the brethren at Marysville. I look upon this place as the most surely available point of importance for the Baptists above Oregon City. I gave you a brief description of the place and its position in point of trade. Although it is difficult at this period in the history of our country to decide with certainty what may be the developments of a country rich with agricultural resources on one hand, while on the other new and rich discoveries of gold mines are being made almost monthly, yet such are its relations to the whole of these resources that it seems hardly possible that it should fail of becoming the first town of importance in the Willamette Valley. I spent the Sabbath with this young church on the 11th of this month, at which time three valuable members were received by letter and one related her experience and was received as a candidate for baptism. On the second Sabbath in next month on my way to Umpqua and Rogue rivers I shall probably baptize two and receive one more by experience. On the third Sabbath of this month and the two preceding days I attended the yearly meeting of the Lebanon church. This was a scene mingled with joy and grief. Here I found a young married lady, whom the church had expected soon to receive by baptism, lying at the point of death and she expired on Saturday, enjoying a comfortable hope of a blissful immortality beyond the grave. On Sabbath I baptized one young man into the fellowship of the church who found the Saviour precious last month. One young brother was received by letter. In the afternoon the church for the first time received the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Elder Sperry,²⁶⁵ our itinerant, was with me through the meetings. This church is small, as you will see by referring to the minutes, and in the

²⁶⁵ This was Rev. William Sperry (1811-1857). He was born in Kentucky, moved to Ohio and to Iowa and came to Oregon in 1851. He was at this time the missionary of the Willamette Association (Baptist). In 1854 he was pastor of the Pleasant Butte Church in Lane County.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:86, 19.

country, but its position is good, being twelve miles east from Salem, the present seat of government, and in the heart of an extensively rich farming country. The community are mostly farmers. The members are intelligent and influential. This church have sustained a Sunday school the last year and will probably soon resume it.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER,
Exploring Agent.

The Oregon City church at the regular meeting on the 3d of July invited Rev. George C. Chandler to continue to labor with them another year; resolved that they would raise \$100 toward his support and appointed a committee to confer with Br. Chandler, learn the sum necessary to support his family and, should Br. Chandler comply with the request, make application to the Home Missionary Society for aid sufficient to enable him to devote himself exclusively to the ministry. . . .

The church committee were informed that a committee appointed by the Methodist church to inquire into the necessary expenses of their minister stationed at Oregon City, with a family of the minister, his wife and one little child, a babe, exclusive of the parsonage, which would probably rent for \$300 or \$400, reported to the church \$850. . . .

To the Executive Board of the Am. Bap. Home Missionary Society: The church at Oregon City desires the reappointment of Elder George C. Chandler as a missionary of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society to labor all the time within its bounds for twelve months from the first day of Sept. 1852, at a salary of \$1250, one hundred dollars of which the church pledges herself she will pay: By order of the church, George P. Newell, Lyman D. C. Latourette,²⁶⁶ Ezra Fisher, Committee of the Church..

Received Sept. 13, 1852.

²⁶⁶ For G. P. Newell, see note 240.

L. D. C. Latourette (1825-1886), was born in New York, came to Oregon in 1848, and after a short stay in the California mines in 1849, returned to Oregon City. In and near this town he spent the remainder of his life. His first wife, Lucy Jane Gray, was the eldest daughter of the author. She died in 1864, and Mr. Latourette later married her younger sister, Ann Eliza.

Oregon City, July 28, '52.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Will you do me the favor to order me a copy of the New York Recorder to Mr. John Robinson to Marysville postoffice, Benton Co., O. T., and pay for the same and charge the same to my account?

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—I shall write you no more until after my return from Umpqua and Rogue River valleys. The distance is about 350 miles out, and my return the same, which will require about six weeks to perform and reach all the points I wish. I leave home tomorrow morning. We greatly need the prayers of God's people in Oregon that Heaven's richest blessings may rest upon us in laying the foundation for efficient Christian enterprise for after ages. I have collected over \$1000 since last fall for our school building. The work has advanced so far that the school is now in it; but we must immediately look for other teachers, or rather teacher. It seems to me desirable that we should have an efficient young man qualified to teach an academy in N. Y. who wishes to make teaching a profession and could at the same time exert an influence in the Baptist cause. We have had no meeting of the Board for eight weeks and they are now scattered so that it has been impracticable to call a meeting since my return last week. I feel safe however in requesting you to find such a man. The school will number about 30 next year, perhaps more. We need very much the portable maps, on rollers, of the world, the United States, North America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and a map of the Ancient Roman Empire and one of Palestine. Could not some friends secure them for us so that you could send them out next winter?

Yours in the bonds of the gospel,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Sep. 13, 1852.

Oregon City, O. T., Sep. 6, 1852.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. Bap. H. M. Soc., N. Y.

Dear Brother:

Having just returned from a tour of the Umpqua I hasten to give you a brief account of my tour. Leaving home on the 29th of Aug., I took a small steamer²⁶⁷ for Champoege,²⁶⁸ a small village of some eight or ten houses, principally log built in French style, with two small stores. This town is situated on the east bank of the Willamette near the north extremity of French Prairie, 30 miles from Oregon City by water. I landed at 1 P. M. Being without a horse, I walked 18 miles. My way lay through the French Prairie in a south and southeast course, skirted first on the right and then on the left by beautiful glades of fir and branched oak, while the prairie is studded with fields of wheat standing in the shock, indicating a generous return to the labors of the husbandman. Spent the night with Br. Smith and was happy to learn from him that the church at French Prairie had secured the labors of Rev. John Rexford²⁶⁹ one Sabbath each month. From this church my way lay through the upper end of French Prairie six miles south across what is falsely called Lake La Bish,²⁷⁰ a tract of rich marsh land about 200 or 300 yards in width and some 3 or 4 miles in length, forming the summit level between the Willamette and Pudding rivers, thence six miles through timber and

²⁶⁷ The first steamship traffic on the lower Willamette was in 1850, and from the summer of 1851 steamers became numerous. In 1852 a number were running on the upper river.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:256.

The first steam vessel entering the Columbia river was the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer Beaver, in August, 1836; the U. S. steam transport Massachusetts arrived at Fort Vancouver May 13, 1849, for the purpose of landing United States troops—the first in Oregon—a company of artillery.

²⁶⁸ Champoege was the oldest settlement in French Prairie, which was, in turn, the oldest settlement in the Willamette Valley. The derivation of the word is not certain, but is possibly "Sandy Encampment."—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, I:72. F. V. Holman, *Hist. of the Counties of Ore. in Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.* XI:21.

²⁶⁹ Rev. John Rexford was born in Canada, came from Illinois to Oregon in 1851, and died in Detroit, Mich., in 1880.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.* I:16.

²⁷⁰ Lake La Bische has since been drained.

prairie to Salem, the present capital of our Territory.²⁷¹ Found three or four Baptist members near this place, but hastened to the place of my appointment twelve miles up Mill creek through one of the most delightful prairies and surrounded by one of the most picturesque sceneries in North America, if not in the world. In this valley, about two and a half miles from the north fork of the Santiam and six miles east from the Willamette, is a log school house, about 20 by 22 feet, where the Shilo church meet to worship the God of Heaven. Here I spent the Saturday and Sabbath and preached each day, on Sabbath to a full house. The church consists of 12 members, and pays \$100 for the preached word one Sab. each month. Their position is good. The members of the church, although a few, are among the most substantial citizens and sustain a Sabbath school, yet are surrounded by Methodists, Campbellites, Anti-missionary Baptists and unbelievers. A good minister would find this one of the most important country locations in any new country. On the twelfth I passed through the fork of the Santiam, a fine prairie country, eighteen miles, stopping and preaching at three P. M. Spent three days with the Santiam church visiting, and preached once. This is a small and afflicted church on the south side of the south fork of the Santiam, under the pastoral care of Rev. Richmond Cheadle, and situated in a rich, level, prairie country near the only soda springs in the Willamette Valley, which are acquiring some celebrity for their medicinal properties. This church is thirty miles south of Salem and 15 east of Albany, Lynn County seat.

Sept. 12, at Lebanon, Marion County. Passing through an open prairie country, 24 miles, I came to Marysville, the county seat of Benton County, standing on the west bank of the Willamette River 70 miles by land above this place.

²⁷¹ The capital was ordered transferred to Salem in 1851 and has remained there until the present time with the exception of a few months in 1855, when it was at Corvallis.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:146, 147. See also W. C. Winslow, *Contest Over the Capital of Oregon*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, VIII:173-178.

Preached on the 17th and 18th, baptized two candidates and received one more for baptism. The house, 30 by 40 feet, is nearly completed. Here a minister is more immediately needed than in any other point in the territory—a ready, business-like, devoted preacher, who could give direction and exercise a general supervision in bringing into existence and sustaining an academical school for the denomination. Such a man would receive \$200 or \$250 from the church the first year. The church is young and inexperienced, but is by far the most wealthy church in the territory. From Marysville I followed up the valley of the most western fork of the Willamette 70 miles through a level prairie country studded with small groves of ash and soft maple, while the hills were crowned with oak groves, but on the Willamette bottoms the balm of Gilead, white fir and soft maple constitute the principal growth of timber. Crossing the Calapooia Mountains, a distance of 8 miles by good wagon road, one enters what is called the Umpqua Valley,²⁷² which consists of a series of narrow valleys varying from a few yards to three or four miles in width. In the midst of these valleys and on every hand rise hills varying in form and elevation from the gentle sloping mound fifty feet in elevation to low mountains raising their imposing summits 2000 or 3000 feet above the level of the valleys below, whose sloping sides are covered with a luxuriant growth of the most nutritious grasses, everywhere interspersed with open groves of red and white oak. Fencing and building timber is rather scarce till you approach the Coast, Cascade and transverse ranges of mountains. Springs of pure water are abundant near the base of these hill slopes. After crossing the Calapooia Mountains, I traveled about 50 miles through these valleys on the great road from the Willamette Valley to the gold mines.²⁷³ This road has already become a great thoroughfare where loaded wagons, pack trains of mules and horses and droves of beef cattle

²⁷² For the early history of the Umpqua Valley, see note 246.

²⁷³ This road followed in most places the old Hudson Bay Company's trail to California.—George H. Himes.

are daily passing. These valleys are fast filling up with settlers and it is confidently believed that the largest portion of the arable land will be taken up before the first of next January. The population of the Umpqua Valley may now be estimated at 1500 or 2000 souls, among which I found six Baptist members. On the 25th I preached at Winchester,²⁷⁴ the only village in the main valley, to about 60 attentive hearers. Winchester is situated about the center of the valley, or rather assemblage of valleys, on the south bank of the north fork of the Umpqua on the great road. It contains four families and one store, a saw and grist mill and two or three mechanic shops. The seat of justice for the county will probably be located about six miles south of this on the south fork. The valley contains nearly two counties, and, as yet, not a single preacher of any denomination. This district of country lies contiguous to the gold mines, is extremely rich in agricultural resources, and of water power there is no end. Great anxiety was expressed by the citizens of every description for the settlement of ministers and school teachers among them. It is about two years since the first white family settled in the valley and probably not more than five or six evangelical sermons have been preached in that whole district. Mr. Jesse Applegate,²⁷⁵ the leading man in the valley, assured me, if the Baptists would locate a school in his neighborhood with a view of raising it to an academical school, he would donate 40 acres of choice land and he and his brother²⁷⁶ would each give \$1000 toward erecting a suitable building and he thought another brother would give \$1000 for the same object. In

²⁷⁴ Winchester was laid out in 1850. It was on a trail to the coast and to the mines. The county seat of Douglas County was there until 1853, when it was transferred to Roseburg, as the author prophesies.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:183, 711.

²⁷⁵ Jesse Applegate was a well-known figure in early Oregon history. He was a leader in the immigration of 1843. He was a prominent member of the provisional legislature in 1845 and 1849. In 1846 he helped open a southern route to the Willamette Valley. In 1849 he settled near Yoncalla, in the Umpqua Valley. He was Indian agent in 1870, candidate for U. S. Senator in 1876, and died in 1888.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, I:393, 473, 544, 568; II:178, 564, 673, 763.

²⁷⁶ Charles Applegate came to Oregon in 1843 and settled in the Umpqua Valley in 1849 near his brother.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, I:393, 569.

The other brother was Lindsey, who also came to Oregon in 1843 and who had settled where Ashland now stands.—*Ibid.* I:569, 393.

the absence of a common school system, and in view of the religious and literary destitution of that country and the prospects of its rapid development both in population and resources and in view of the untiring efforts of other religious sects, upon consultation with our brethren here, we have thought it best for Br. Read to proceed immediately to the Umpqua and commence preaching to the destitute, and at the same time look after the interests of education and attempt, if practicable, to lay the foundation for a Baptist academy in as favored a location as can be secured, as his labors have closed with the Oregon City College.

I did not visit Scottsburg,²⁷⁷ the commercial point for the Umpqua, but learned that it consists of six dry goods stores, is near the head of tide water on the Umpqua, some four or five families residing in the vicinity, and that the entire community consists of about 70 or 75 souls. Fifteen vessels have entered the mouth of the river within the last 15 months. Next month I expect to visit Rogue River. On my return I visited the church just constituted in the forks of the Willamette²⁷⁸ and spent the Sabbath. At present I shall defer giving you a description of this church, except to mention that our itinerant, Rev. Mr. Sperry, preaches to them monthly and they are sustaining a Sunday school. Circumstances over which I have no control prevented my proceeding to Rogue River as I intended when I left home, but, by Divine permission, I shall visit that part of the country next month. Indications seem very favorable that an immediate and urgent demand will be made for the appointment of an efficient, enterprising, devoted missionary to labor at the Indian Agency, where we have two valuable Baptist families, and

²⁷⁷ Scottsburg was at the head of tidewater on the Umpqua and was named after Levi Scott.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:178.

The first newspaper in Oregon, south of Salem, the *Umpqua Gazette*, was published at this place April, 1854.—George H. Himes.

It was the point from which settlers in Southern Oregon got many of their supplies. There had been a Hudson's Bay Company's post there, and mule trails to the interior of Oregon.—Mrs. Sallie Applegate Long, *Mrs. Jesse Applegate*, in *Ore. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, VIII:182.

²⁷⁸ This church was organized May 1, 1852, by Revs. Vincent Snelling and William Sperry.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:19.

Jacksonville, the trading town for the rich mining district now attracting many miners on the Rogue River, and but seven miles from the Agency. I trust you will be casting about you with prayerful anxiety to find the very man to meet vice in all its forms and succeed in that place. . . .

Numbers of appointments must be made, which will require from \$300 to \$400 each from your Board, or the cause must be given over into other hands for the want of efficient ministers. The Old School Presbyterian Church has three missionaries here, with but one church, very small.²⁷⁹ Congregationalists have seven or eight ministers, the Methodists about a score, Seceders four to five, Cumberland Presbyterians four or five, Campbellites six or seven and Anti-missionary Baptists six or eight. It strikes me that four missionaries should be immediately appointed for Oregon who should be subject to the advice of the ministers here in the selection of their location. Marysville, Salem and Portland are all suffering for want of efficient Baptist ministers, yet the distance is so far from New York and the time is so long before you can secure the labors of the right man that we are obliged to throw such laborers into the field as we have and, by the time of the arrival of a man just adapted for the field, we have a man in the way who cannot be removed without temporary injury to the cause.

Our school at Oregon City is doing well as yet. Br. Chandler's labors close in about two weeks and we have found no teacher to succeed him. We expect we shall be compelled to take up a temporary teacher. The Trustees, at a late meeting, instructed me to correspond with you and request you to secure for us a teacher, if possible, from one of the New England or New York colleges, who wishes to identify himself with a rising institution and grow up with it, with hopes of permanency in the profession of teaching. We think

²⁷⁹ The three old-school Presbyterian missionaries were Revs. Lewis Thompson, Robert Robe and E. R. Geary. J. A. Hanna had also probably arrived by this time. The church was probably the one at Corvallis.—Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, II:680, 681.

Among the Congregational ministers were Revs. Cushing Eells, Elkanah Walker, J. S. Griffin, Harvey Clark, George H. Atkinson, Horace Lyman.

the school will give such a man a reasonable support. He should by all means bring along with him an amiable, intelligent wife.

The goods that were shipped on the M. Howes arrived safe and in good order except a few pairs of ladies' shoes and gaiters; the numbers of pairs I cannot now state, as I am from home and have not the invoice of goods along, but will state particulars in my next.

The importance of our mission to Oregon is every day becoming more manifest and we daily need more grace and wisdom and energy to meet the openings of providence in laying broad and deep the foundations of institutions for enlarged Christian philanthropy. As a denomination we are suffering for the want of an efficient colporteur of the American Baptist Publication Society. A colporteur who could be kept constantly supplied with books to meet the demands of the people, and so sustained that he could go everywhere carrying and selling his books and preaching the Word, would, by harmonizing discordant elements and scattering broadcast the seed of evangelical truth in a luxuriant soil, accomplish a work for Oregon which no other man can do. When I think on this subject all my bones are pained. We are now out of books and the Society's agent²⁸⁰ is at home providing for his family, teaching school for a support, while every Methodist circuit rider is selling books of the Arminian stamp through the country and the Campbellites have their books on the way to proselyte to their faith. It strikes me that a colporteur missionary must be sustained by the Publication Soc. and that the results will soon justify the outlay. Pray for us that our faith and labors fail not.

Respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

²⁸⁰ This was Rev. Richmond Cheadle.

Oregon City, O. T., Sept. 22, '52.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc., N. York.

Dear Br.:

I learn by a letter which Br. Chandler has just received from you that you are in correspondence with a brother who is willing to come to Oregon as a professional teacher, and who is a licentiate.²⁸¹ If he can preach, and your Board cannot send him as a teacher, could you not give him an appointment as you did Brs. Chandler and Read? If so, and he can preach to the edification of the people, we can find profitable use for him as a teacher and preacher in this place and vicinity. This would operate to liberate the pastor here and enable him to exert a more general personal influence in the surrounding villages and the churches in the Willamette Valley. We feel that we must have an efficient, professional teacher, and we must look to you for the man. . . .

Please send the Home Mission Record to the following brethren: William S. Wilmot,²⁸² eight copies, Salem Post-office, Russel T. Hill, eight copies, Santiam Post-office, and John Trapp, eight copies, Marysville Post-office, and charge the same to my account. I have received pay. Will you order to Talbert Carter,²⁸³ Albany Post-office, one copy of the New York Recorder, and pay for the same and charge me with the amount. I wish not to be responsible for any paper I order more than a year at a time. Should they not order them renewed, you will have them discontinued at the end of the year.

²⁸¹ This was probably J. D. Post, who came to Oregon in 1852.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, 1:37.

²⁸² Rev. William S. Wilmot, M. D., was born in Kentucky in 1808, moved to Missouri in 1841, and to Oregon in 1850. He settled in Marion County and was connected with the Shiloh Church for about twenty years. He was ordained in 1859, and later lived in Washington and Idaho. He died at Beaverton, Ore.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, 1:71.

²⁸³ Tolbert Carter (1825-1899) was born in Illinois, moved to Missouri in 1841, and to Oregon in 1846. He settled in Benton County and served several terms in the state legislature. He was prominent in church life as a licensed preacher and deacon.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, 1:57.

The ladies' shoes and gaiters not received in the bill of goods referred to in another sheet are one pair women's Brogans, 90 cents; two pairs morocco, marked \$1.00 each; one pair calf marked 70 cents; one pair kid marked \$1.00, and one pair colored gaiters \$1.38. Total \$5.98. I presume they were overlooked and not put up. It is possible the box might have been opened on the way, but not probable. During my absence the past three weeks, my family have been occupied with the family of Rev. Mr. Stevens²⁸⁴ from northern Ohio. His wife and three of the children have had a severe attack of the camp fever. The affliction was deepened by the death of his eldest daughter of seventeen years. Br. Stevens goes to Marysville. I hope he will succeed there. His family left my house this morning in an enfeebled state. The immigrants are every day reaching our valley in large numbers. The number of immigrants for Oregon are variously estimated from five to twenty thousand souls.²⁸⁵ There has been an unusual amount of suffering on the way by cholera, in a mitigated form, and camp fever. Those who come by the overland route should invariably start early, take the most wholesome kinds of food, drive regularly and make no forced marches, except in the absence of grass or water, and rest Sabbaths, except where water and grass is not to be found. I write this that following immigrations may profit by the advice. No doubt many on the route have lost their lives through neglect either in providing a suitable outfit, or through too much haste and irregular habits on the way. It should be proclaimed through the length and breadth of the States that food made up principally of rancid bacon-sides, shoulders and hams, hot biscuits mixed with the fats fried therefrom and water, hot coffee, as strong as it can be made, mornings, noon and night, with no vegetables and little dried fruit

²⁸⁴ Rev. Thomas Stephens (1803-1888) was born in Wales, where he was ordained, lived later in New York and Ohio, and came to Oregon in 1852. He preached for the Shiloh and Corvallis churches for a time and later settled near Roseburg.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:14. See also the letter of Aug. 22, 1853.

²⁸⁵ See note 154.

for four or five months in succession, is enough to generate fatal diseases in any climate, but especially where all, both male and female, are exposed to extreme fatigue and constant anxiety of mind. I shall leave in about two weeks for the Rogue River, if the rains do not become too severe. In the meantime I shall attend a yearly meeting in Polk Co. with the LaCreole church.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Sept. 30, 1852.

Oregon City, O. T., Oct. 16, 1852.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Herein I send you a bill of goods which I wish you to purchase for me and forward as soon as you can ship direct to Portland, Oregon, as follows:

1 large cooking stove, furniture and ten pieces of pipe. Let the pipe be bent for locking and be left open so that it can be packed close; it can be put together here. 1 good patent lever watch, full jeweled, chain and key. I want a good time keeper. 1 small timepiece. Let it not cost more than \$10 or \$12. 1 good hat for riding, rather wide-brimmed, 23½ inches around the outside of the hat at the head. I travelling overcoat, suitable for my business in a wet Oregon winter, thick and firm, not coarse. 1 pair stout cassimere pantaloons, lined throughout. 1 stout cassimere frock coat; coats rather large for you will fit me. 1 good double-breasted cassimere vest for winter traveling. 1 substantial black summer vest. One vest for a young man, middling size. 25 or 30 yds. of woollen plaid; if not in the market, linsey, green and black or green and red. One web of bleached sheeting, fine and firm. 2 bolts of unbleached cotton sheeting, not coarse. 1 bolt good, dark calico. 25 yds. of worsted delaine, figured, not light colored; if no worsted

delaine in market, get the amount in worsted goods for women's dresses. 8 yards of white muslin for young ladies' dresses. 1 bolt of good gingham, not very light colored.

1 parasol, suitable for a young lady, not very light.

16 yards cambric for lining. 6 yards brown holland.

2 good brown linen tablecloths, 6 feet square.

10 yards good brown linen toweling, all linen.

Half-pound black Italian sewing silk, good.

18 yards good, fine twilled red flannel. 6 papers of pins, different sizes.

1 pound black linen thread.

6 cards good hooks and eyes. 12 fine ivory combs, large. 6 tucking combs. 1 roll of black ribbon, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. 1 box adamantine candles. 1 good glass lantern. Fourth gross matches. 1 barrel New Orleans sugar, good. 200 letter envelopes. Half-ream letter paper, best article.

One dozen cut glass tumblers. 2 ladies' bonnets, one of which is for a girl of 11 years, each trimmed. 2 copies Downing's work on Horticulture.²⁸⁶ 1 copy Preacher's Manual by Rev. S. T. Sturtevant.²⁸⁷ 1 copy of Williams' Miscellaneous.²⁸⁸ 1 pair fine calf boots, number 10's. 1 do. No. 11's, high in the instep. 1 pair water-proof calf boots, double sole and feet, lined with good calf, not very heavy. 1 pair calf shoes, fine, No. 9. 1 do. No. 10, good article. 2 pair little boys' calfskin shoes, No. 9. 1 pair ladies' gaiters, drab or slate colored, No. 4's. 1 do. black, No. $4\frac{1}{2}$. 2 pairs morocco boots. No. $4\frac{1}{2}$. 2 do., one morocco and one enameled, No. 4. 1 pair ladies' calfskin boots, No. 4. 1 pair misses' enameled boots, No. 12. 1 pair morocco do. No. 12. 1 pair calfskin do. No. 12. 2 pair ladies' India rubber boots, Nos. 6 and 7, rough bottoms. 10 pairs good, long-legged men's half hose. 6 pairs lamb's wool ladies' hose. 2 pairs colored

²⁸⁶ Andrew Jackson Downing's "Fruit and Fruit Trees of America" was first published in 1845, and passed through many editions.

²⁸⁷ S. F. Sturtevant, Preacher's Manual, publisher by John C. Riker, New York, 8vo., \$2.50. O. A. Roobach, *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 525.

²⁸⁸ William R. Williams, *Miscellanies*. New York, 1850. See also note 237.

cotton do. and 2 pairs white cotton do. 3 pairs boys' half hose, boy 6 yrs. old. 2 bandana silk handkerchiefs. 2 ladies' dress collars. 1 pair large ladies' silk gloves, drab or snuff color. 2 dozen nutmegs, 1 pound cinnamon, be sure it is good; 1 glass jar, about 1 gallon; 8 lbs. salsoda; 6 pounds saleratus, 1 good razor, 2 washing tubs, one to fit inside other; 1 waiter for tea table, medium size; 1 flatiron, large; 3 good cotton umbrellas; 1 good steel blade shovel, round pointed; 12 sheets perforated cardboard for ladies' marking, white, pink, blue, green. Worsted for working different colors. 15 skeins silk of different colors for marking. 1 pair saddle bags for riding, rather large size; 1 large travelling trunk; pack it full before boxing it. 65 pounds of nails, 15 lbs. 4's, 25 lbs. 6's, 15 lbs. 8's and 10 lbs. of 10 pennys. 1 good walking cane, good length. 1 good ladies' winter shawl. 1 silk scarf for young lady, changeable blue and pink or blue and white. 1 pair good spectacles set in silver for a man 53 years old. 3 boxes water-proof boot blacking.

Received Nov. 29, 1852.

Oregon City, Oct. 18, 1852.

Dear Br. Hill:

In my last quarterly report I omitted to state the amount I received for my support, which was twenty-five dollars (\$25.00). This was occasioned by my haste to get my report to the office before the mail closed. I have made out a bill rather large, but it falls short of the wants of the family. I have thought that, in the event it exceeds the amount due me for the time I have reported, you might perhaps accommodate me with the amount and forward the goods by the first vessel up for Oregon and wait for the balance till I report again, as it is inconvenient for me to order my family supplies oftener than once a year.

I wish you also to order on my account one copy of the New York Recorder, or the Christian Chronicle, as it may suit your convenience, and pay for the same in advance, for J. M. Barnes, to be directed to Cincinnati Post-office, Oregon Ter.

I believe I acknowledged receipt of yours under date of June 25, 1852. I shall leave today for a yearly meeting on the French Prairie and shall not return till I have visited Rogue River settlements, unless the rains should swell the streams so as to make travelling dangerous.

As ever yours in Christ,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Nov. 29, 1852.

Lebanon, twelve miles east of Salem, Marion Co., Oregon Ter., Nov. 22, 1852.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Owing to the winter rains coming down with so much frequency just at the time I got in readiness to make a tour to Rogue River, the fact that the immigration was moving on in that direction in such numbers and the great scarcity of provisions in that country, all of which would contribute to throw the community in an unsettled condition, I concluded to spend the rainy season in the older and more settled parts of Oregon and defer my visit to Rogue River and Puget Sound till the opening of the spring. At that time the immigrants will find their homes and begin to look around them with desire to secure the necessary appendages of civilization and a means of grace. From all the facts that have fallen under my observation I have not the least doubt there is an important opening for the constitution of a Baptist church at the Indian agency only seven miles from Jacksonville, a rising mining town near Rogue River.²⁸⁹ Judge Rice²⁹⁰ and wife and some two or more members besides are located near the agency and will do what they can to sustain Baptist preaching. Br. James S. Read is in

²⁸⁹ In January, 1851, gold was discovered near the present Jacksonville, the beginning of successful mining in the Rogue River. Other discoveries soon followed, and there was a large influx of miners.—George H. Himes.

²⁹⁰ This was L. A. Rice. He was County Judge for two years.—Mattoon, *Bap. An. of Ore.*, I:137.

the Umpqua at Winchester, and I learn by a letter that he will soon constitute a church at that place. He should be reappointed to labor at Winchester and other parts of the Umpqua Valley. I am unable to say what will be necessary to enable him to give himself to the ministry. He will be able to give you the necessary information. I think he will not be able to sustain himself on less than \$500 or \$600. Br. Read is a devoted, studious, thinking, exemplary man and wishes ardently to give himself wholly to the ministry. Br. Chandler has moved onto a claim twelve miles south from Oregon City.²⁹¹ This he did with a view of securing his family the means of sustenance. We do not blame him for making the move, but regret that our best men must take their families on to farms because they cannot be sustained in the towns. We expect he will preach to the church at Oregon City this year. We have at this time not a single minister located in a town as pastor, unless Winchester may be called a town. It seems that we must have a minister sustained at Oregon City, Portland and Salem, each, if it is possible. We need to have the example given to our churches of an efficient, devoted ministry, and this influence should go out from our towns. Yet in our towns we have few members, and they are not able like our landholders. We can find no self-denying man who will leave a flourishing church in N. York or N. England and move to our new towns in Oregon without seeing a prospect of having his family sustained. Till some provisions are made adequate to the support of the ministry, if they are induced to move to Oregon with a prospect of sustaining the cause in a rising town, they will not long stay where want stares them in the face while they see that their wants may be easily met by laboring three or four days in a week with their hands in the country. At this time wheat is worth from \$3.00 to \$4.00 per bushel, flour \$14.00 to \$15.00 per hundred pounds;

²⁹¹ This claim, known on government maps as the G. C. Chandler Donation Land Claim, is in Township 4 South, Range 2 East, of the Willamette Meridian, and is on Milk Creek, about three miles southeast of Mulino, Clackamas County.

fresh beef 14 to 16 cents per pound, rice 25, sugar about 20, eggs from 50 cents to a dollar per dozen. A good cow and calf \$100. Wood from \$7.00 to \$9.00 per cord. With these prices, no minister in Oregon with a small family can support his family and give himself entirely to the ministry of the word short of \$1000 per year. In Umpqua and Rogue rivers we must add from 25 to 100 per cent to these prices. With all these embarrassments staring the ministry in the face and with all these temptations to leave the ministry to serve tables we need tried and devoted men. And it does seem to me that such men should not be forsaken. Yet we have the promise of the Good Shepherd, "Lo, I am with you," and we still pray and trust Him and work on, if we have to do as Paul did for the Corinthian Church. Our country churches are advancing in pecuniary ability and I think I can say, too, in willingness to sustain the ministry. If our churches are rightly trained, they will soon give liberally for the support of the gospel, both at home and abroad. I spent Saturday and Sabbath with this church. Sabbath was unusually rainy; few persons were out, not more than fifteen, yet it was thought best to take up a collection in favor of the Home Mission Society. Accordingly the hat was passed. It was rather a family circle than a church. The collection amounted to (\$3.50) three dollars and fifty cents. I shall be unable to take up collections this winter, but hope the churches will begin to sympathize deeply with your Society's operations by contributing liberally to its support. I shall spend most of my time with the churches and destitute settlements in the Willamette Valley and the valley of the Columbia the coming winter. Probably shall spend a Sabbath at Salem during the coming session of the legislature. Should you appoint a man to preach one year at Oregon City and vicinity who will teach the school, probably he would render effectual service to the church and meet pressing wants in the school with a commission of \$200 or \$300 salary and we would be supplied with a man who could in

a great measure superintend the cause of education. Elder Johnson is yet feeble, but able to preach part of the time. We have an accession to the ministry by the last immigration of five or six men, but most of them are far advanced in life and manifestly came to Oregon to settle their families and to find a quiet repose for their declining years.

Yours respectfully,

EZRA FISHER.

Received Jan. 14, 1853.

Oregon City, Oregon Ter., Dec. 29, '52.

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,

Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Dear Brother:

Your letters under date Oct. 5 and Nov. 2 and 3 were received by the last two mails. Having just returned from a tour up the Willamette Valley after a detention at Salem and vicinity of two weeks by rains, high water and snow, I take the earliest opportunity to answer your inquiries touching the cause of Br. Chandler's leaving the school. While he continued connected with the school he gave as general satisfaction, both to the Trustees and supporters, as we could reasonably expect of any man in that station. As far as my knowledge extends, all were desirous that he should continue in that station. Sometime during the summer term (I think) he expressed his doubt whether it could be his duty to confine his labors to a school of boys but little in advance of a common school in the States. The Trustees could not say to a man evidently called to preach the gospel, "You must continue to teach." We, however, expressed our wishes that he would continue to sustain the relation he had to the school. Near the close of the summer or early in the fall term Br. C. informed us positively that he must leave the school at the close of the year and wished us to look out for another man. At that time the church in the place felt a strong conviction that they needed more pastoral

labors performed than Brother C. could do in connection with the school and that it was very desirable that we should have the undivided labors of a minister in this place and vicinity, if we hoped to secure our proportion of influence as a denomination in the place where our school was located. How much this consideration influenced Br. Chandler to leave the work of teaching, I cannot say. Probably somewhat. It was Br. Chandler's decision that it was his duty to leave the department of teaching, and not that of the Trustees. If he erred, it was an error of judgment, not of design.

Br. Read was appointed by your Board, I understand, at Br. Chandler's request, to be associated with him in the school; I am quite sure it was not at the request of the Trustees of the College. But as you had appointed him and made the outfit, we regarded it our duty to remove all the obstacles we could and render every facility to their usefulness as teachers and preachers we could. But I never admired the economy or utility of that part of the arrangement. However, before the close of the second quarter, Brother Read signified to the Trustees his determination to leave the school at the expiration of the year, or as soon as he could be spared from the school, with a strong conviction that it was his duty to devote his labors exclusively to the ministry of the Word. I have no doubt the Trustees would have given him the school when they found Br. Chandler must leave, but he could not for a moment entertain the thought of teaching and we had no control of his convictions of duty. He left the school by mutual consent at the close of the third quarter.

It is true the school did not give an entire support for two men, yet I think, if Br. Chandler's health would have allowed him to teach five days in the week and preach occasionally on Saturday and regularly on Sabbath, that the income of the school, \$200 from your Board and \$100 from the church would have given him a comfortable living. You ask what the school is worth per year. The school last

year must have been worth something like \$600 or \$700. It must have averaged about 25 scholars at \$6.00, \$8.00 and \$10.00 per quarter. The average price was a fraction short of \$8 per quarter. I think we may safely calculate that, by the time our teacher will be ready to enter the school, the school will be worth as much the first year as it was last, and from that time forward we hope for a gradual increase.

All practical business men in Oregon give their opinion that Oregon City must become one of the few important places in Oregon. I have no doubt but a good professional teacher, with a small family, would be able to sustain his family from the school, with a prospect of a gradual increase of salary, and find himself admirably situated to exert a general influence on the formation of the civil and religious character of one of the most important future states in the whole union. If we could pay the passage of Br. Post's family out and give him the school when he arrives in the place, we would gladly do it. But it strikes me that this is beyond our power. We have but eleven or twelve feeble churches in the territory and they together number less than 200 members—men, women and children—gathered from all parts of the western states, a few from the old states, but mostly from Missouri. It is no strange thing to me that many of them cannot see clearly what relation our school bears to the future destinies of the cause of Christ in Oregon, in the world. Besides, we must raise \$300 or \$400 the coming summer to glaze our house and thus secure it from the weather, and finish another room or two (and I know of no man who will do this work but myself, and this must be done so as not to interfere with my appropriate duties as your agent and missionary) and most of this must come from men not connected with our denomination, as I incidentally fall in with them to spend an hour or a night. If the country was a little older or the churches had a few more efficient pastors, this money might be raised. Since Brother Chandler left the school, we have made temporary arrangements for teaching and intend the school shall be

kept up from quarter to quarter till we learn the result of your correspondence with Br. Post. We cannot tell Br. Post how much he ought to sacrifice for the cause of Christ and humanity in Oregon. But this I will suggest, that, if he will give his whole soul to God for this work, I think the day will come before he is fifty years old, if his life is spared, that he will find himself connected with relations which should satisfy the most aspiring mind and afford the richest consolation in the decline of life. It is true our beginnings are small, but the destinies of Oregon for the next fifty years, who can calculate?

Very respectfully yours,

EZRA FISHER.

N. B.—Dear Brother:

Will you give me an interest in your fervent prayers that I may do my whole duty to Him who died and intercedes for me with the Father of us all.

Received March 19, 1853.

Oregon City, Ore. Ter., Jan. 1st, 1853.

To the Rev. Benjamin M. Hill,
Cor. Sec. A. B. H. M. Soc.

Herein I send you my report of labor as exploring agent for Oregon for the 3rd quarter ending December 31st, 1852.

I have visited during the quarter, Salem, the seat of government, and Lebanon church, attended the yearly meeting of the French Prairie church; visited Shiloh church, Oregon City church, and Molalla church, and spent a Sabbath with brethren on Butte Creek, 22 miles south of Oregon City.

Traveled 435 miles to and from my appointments, labored 11 weeks during the quarter, collected \$3.50 by collections from Lebanon church, paid for traveling expenses \$2.50, for postage 12½ cents. Total, \$2.62½. Delivered 18 sermons.

Respectfully submitted,

EZRA FISHER,

Received March 19, 1853.

Exploring Agent.

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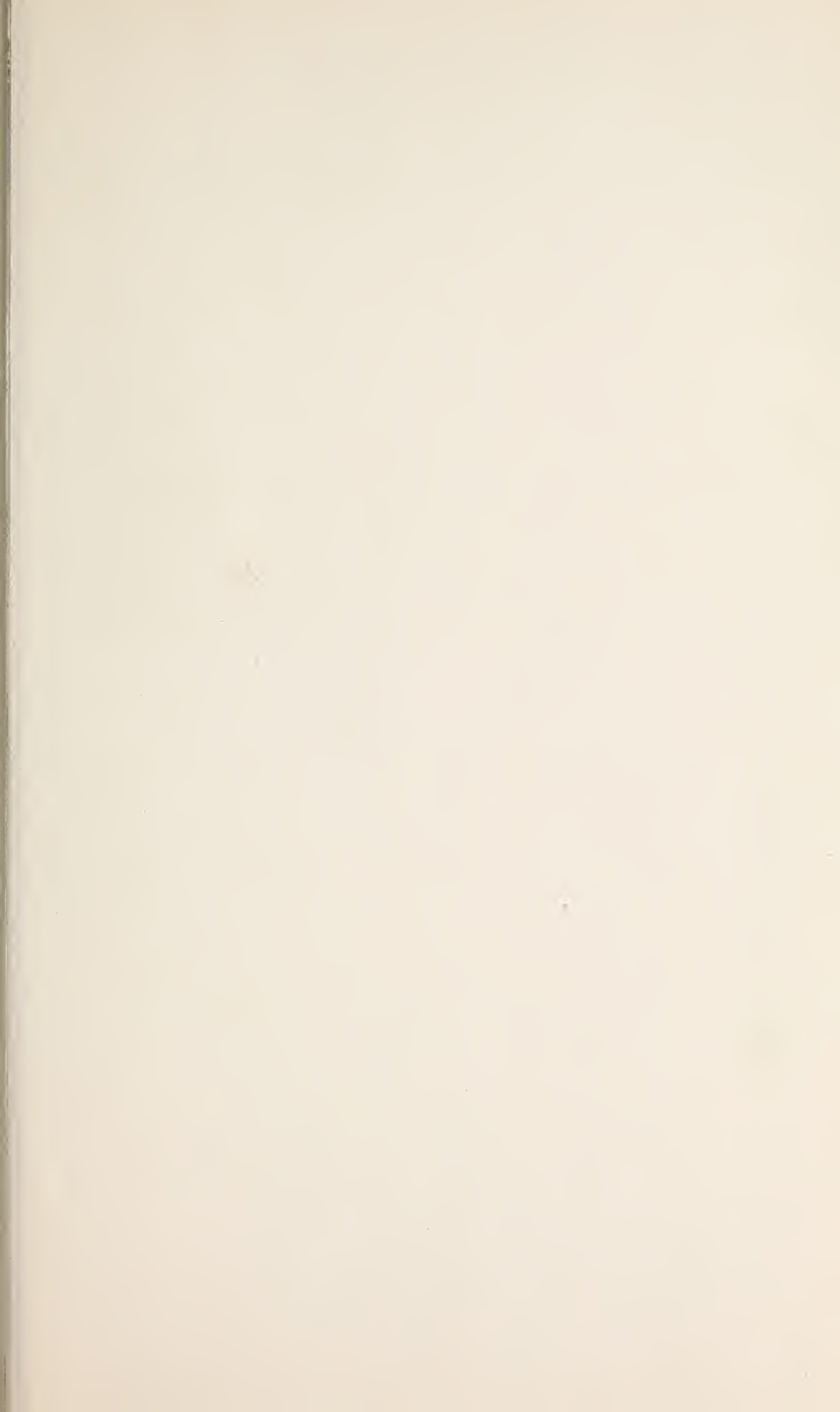
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ORGANIZED DECEMBER 17, 1898

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